GREGORIAN CHANT, POLYPHONY, AND 'PRIDE OF PLACE': CONTEXTUALIZING ROMAN CATHOLIC LITURGICAL MUSIC

by

Ramon J. Gonzalez, B.M.; M.Div.; M.Th.

Report

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Music

The University of Texas at Austin

August 2009

GREGORIAN CHANT, POLYPHONY, AND 'PRIDE OF PLACE': CONTEXTUALIZING ROMAN CATHOLIC LITURGICAL MUSIC

Approved by
Supervising Committee:

_____

Lorenzo Candelaria

_____

Michael Tusa

Abstract

GREGORIAN CHANT, POLYPHONY, AND 'PRIDE OF PLACE': CONTEXTUALIZING ROMAN CATHOLIC LITURGICAL MUSIC

Ramon J. Gonzalez, M.Music

The University of Texas at Austin, 2009

Supervisor: Lorenzo Candelaria

Sacrosanctum concilium, the Second Vatican Council's constitution on the liturgy, is often cited by scholars when assessing and commenting upon Roman Catholic liturgical music in the Council's reception period, that is, the late-twentieth and early-twenty first centuries. The constitution, however, is only one of four constitutions promulgated by the Council that together create a vision for reform. Conciliar documents state principles which the Church's teachers—the pope, bishops, pastors, and theologians—continually interpret for specific situations. This essay considers theological and historical factors that affected the Second Vatican Council's statements about liturgical music. The Council's overall concern was the Church's effective proclamation of the Gospel in a world of diverse cultural settings facing modern problems. Liturgical music prior to the Second Vatican Council reflected the needs and concerns of a Church that, in a sense, no longer exists. Current theological methods begin by validating a congregation's experience of God and placing it in dialogue with tradition. In this context, Gregorian chant and polyphony hold "pride of place" among a variety of musical styles that express the Church's encounter with God.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

> Instead of using only revelation and tradition as starting points, as classical theology has generally done, [the Church] must start with facts and questions derived from the world and from history.
>
> *Situation et tâches présentes de la théologie*[1]
> Yves Congar, O.P. (1904-1995)

INTRODUCTION

Musicians working in a contemporary Roman Catholic parish face two basic options when establishing a liturgical music repertoire. For the moment, only the most general terms suffice to locate the discussion. Music at Mass either sounds "traditional" or it sounds like anything other than that. Most North American Roman Catholic liturgical gatherings opt for the latter much to the distress of some parishioners and musicians. Conflicts erupt periodically, ranging from small skirmishes to outright warfare. At one end of the spectrum the matter is a manageable nuisance; people have different tastes and prefer different music. At the other, hostile exchanges lead to hurt feelings and defections from the parish to attend Mass where the music is "better."

At issue are two questions. The first "Is music at Mass necessary?" reaches into the heart of Roman Catholic aesthetics. Liturgical events are human encounters with the divine and their enactment ought to arouse and sustain an awareness of God's immanent activity in the event and in the whole of human life. The degree to which something leads humanity to faith in God witnesses to its truth, its goodness, and its beauty. In Roman Catholic theology, the *True*, the *Good*, and the *Beautiful* are transcendental

---

[1] (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1967), 72. Quoted by Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*, 15th Anniversary Edition, with an introduction by the author (New York: Orbis Books, 1988), 9–10. This work first appeared in 1971 as *Teología de la liberación. Perspectivas*. (Lima: CEP).

realities because their source is in God—they exist beyond the *created order*.[2] They are divine attributes to which all creation aspires. God's activity in the world, although not wholly measurable, is at least partly demonstrable according to criteria established by faith. From a theological standpoint, beauty is not a subjective category lacking objective standards. On the contrary, Beauty inspires humanity to yearn for an existence that can be, but is not yet, and to search for it with hopeful expectation. Truth delves into the present and encounters God, the ultimate reality. Goodness gives purpose to the meaningless, transforming it into something divine. Faith in God engendered by the *True*, the *Good*, and the *Beautiful*, bears fruit which tradition calls the theological virtues: *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity/Love*. At stake, then, is how the True, the Good, and the Beautiful find expression in the Church's liturgical actions.

The second question "Why should Gregorian chant and polyphony hold 'pride of place' in the Roman rite?" interrogates *Sacrosanctum Concilium* [hereafter SC], the Second Vatican Council's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. SC asserts that Gregorian chant holds "pride of place" within the Roman rite. "But other kinds of sacred music, especially polyphony, are by no means excluded from liturgical celebrations."[3] Privileging the text without examining its historical background isolates Vatican II from

---

[2] Donald Gelpi, *Closer Walk: Confessions of a U.S. Jesuit Yat* (Lanham, MD: Hamilton Books, 2006)*;* Alejandro Garcia-Rivera, *Community of the Beautiful: A Theological Aesthetics* (Collegeville, Minn. The Liturgical Press, 1999); Pope Benedict XVI, *Sacramentum Caritatis* apostolic exhortation (Vatican City: February 22, 2007) http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/apost_ exhortations/documents/hf_ben-xvi_exh_20070222_sacramentum-caritatis_en.html, (accessed 15 April 2007) (Section 35 of the document is entitled "Beauty and the Liturgy"); Richard Viladesau, *Theology and the Arts: Encountering God through Music, Art and Rhetoric* (New York: Paulist Press, 2000).

[3] The Vatican website provides texts of Conciliar documents in various languages (http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/index.htm). The translation used here is from *The Documents of Vatican II*, Walter M. Abbott, S.J., general ed. (New York: The America Press, 1966), 137–78.

the theological trends established by preceding councils (Trent and Vatican I) and other events that have shaped Roman Catholic musical discourse since that time. It risks overlooking nuances in the Church's faith and purpose expounded over a period of time—before and after Vatican II. Understanding how liturgical music integrates with faith's rational explication (theology) and ritual manifestation (liturgy) is essential and indispensable.

This essay proposes a method ultimately leading to theological reflection on Roman Catholic liturgical music. The aesthetic question, intimately bound up with theology, hovers on that horizon. Meanwhile, SC casts a broad shadow over contemporary liturgical music discourse. As such, its musical claims require scrutiny. So, why plainchant and polyphony? Lacking an answer from the text, the present work seeks to contextualize SC's musical claims by attending to conflicting nineteenth and twentieth century theological perspectives within Roman Catholicism and the growing awareness in the early twentieth century about the essential link between liturgy, music as a liturgical component, and the Christian life. With assistance from the works of James Garratt and Thomas O'Meara, O.P.,[4] a link may be drawn between SC's prescribed musical repertoire and nineteenth century historicism ("the rise of historical consciousness" that tended to idolize the past)[5] and ultramontanism ("to use a base of power in Rome—sometimes in the Curia, often in the Papal Palace itself—to advance an

[4] James Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination: Interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Thomas Franklin O'Meara, O.P., *Church and Culture: German Catholic Theology, 1860–1914* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991); O'Meara, *Romantic Idealism and Roman Catholicism: Schelling and the Theologians* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press 1982).
[5] Garratt, 12.

agenda at home or…in Rome itself.").[6] The next step will examine the twentieth century ecclesial context through ecclesial documents. They shall demonstrate that the repertoire at issue, although promoted by the papacy, failed to take hold in parochial settings. Furthermore, the papacy's endorsement of plainchant and polyphony was attenuated by theological developments and calls for liturgical reform. While the value of this repertoire may appear obvious to a musician trained in the western European musical tradition, the music's liturgical limitations may not be so evident. A study of two parishes in the Archdiocese of San Antonio shall exemplify one kind of experience among many which contributed to an overwhelming desire for reform at the Second Vatican Council. The conclusion will propose directions leading toward a Roman Catholic theology of music.

I hasten to add that my purpose is not to devalue music composed over many centuries for Roman Catholic liturgical and devotional settings. It would be utterly senseless to argue against the fact that a bounty of extant liturgical music is worthy of performance and a worthy testament to Christian life, let alone a monument to European culture. Nor is it my intention to deride the work of dedicated religious (monks, nuns, friars, etc.), clergy, and scholars who pioneered western European liturgical studies. The question is whether Gregorian chant and polyphony ought to be held up as normative and always be preferred for Roman Catholic liturgy. At issue is not even whether liturgical music of previous ages ought to be used in a contemporary celebration of the Mass. In a parochial setting I think that **there may** be occasions when **older liturgical music,** perhaps with modification, is appropriate. Certainly, festive celebrations of special value to the diocese and the universal Church may warrant such music. These caveats are

---

[6] Jeffrey Paul von Arx,, S.J., ed., *Varieties of Ultramontanism* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1998), 2. "Curia" refers to the Vatican bureaucracy composed of various dicasteries (departments).

necessary because I maintain that SC's musical repertory presupposes a theological milieu and, in a sense, a Church that no longer exists. Because the historical and ecclesial circumstances have changed, attempts to apply this repertoire universally amount to antiquarianism—"the search for a past in a (vain) effort to repeat it."[7] From a theological perspective, such a project risks overlooking the workings of the Holy Spirit in the present age; it risks disregarding the transcendental reality of the True.

[7] John F. Baldovin, S.J., "The Uses of Liturgical History," *Worship* 82, no. 1 (January 2008): 6.

THEOLOGY

Part I: A Critically Reflective and Public Science

The word "theology" features prominently in many discussions about liturgical music, as well it should. This section offers a brief overview of what theology means in the Roman Catholic tradition and why theology necessarily appears in the discourse about liturgical music. Driving the theological endeavor is an attempt to make sense of the Church's experience with God. For the early Church, theology was indistinguishable from the spiritual life and personal formation of a Christian.[8] In other words, theology entailed a vital set of operations: knowledge of scripture, private prayer, devotions, liturgical practice, homiletics, and philosophical thought.

Among Western Christians, the notion of theology as science—a body of knowledge held together methodically by reason—began to take hold during the Middle Ages.[9] Theology presumed and reflected upon faith. However, it was understood to be an academic enterprise that dealt largely with, as the opening quotation from Congar pointed out, tradition and revelation (scripture).[10] Its strong academic orientation

---

[8] Gutierrez, 4.

[9] Gutierrez, 4.

[10] *Dei Verbum*, the Second Vatican Council's Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation promulgated on November 18, 1965, begins by defining revelation as God's self-communication to humanity in the person of Jesus Christ—God's very Word made flesh who is "the fullness of all revelation" (no. 2). The purpose of this disclosure by "deeds and words," as recorded in Sacred Scripture, is to achieve salvation for humanity. Yet, it is insufficient to regard Scripture alone as revelation because it must be interpreted by how the church lives and defines its faith. Therefore, *Dei Verbum* makes clear that "sacred tradition, Sacred Scripture, and the teaching authority of the Church…are so linked together that one cannot stand without the others." (no. 11)

continued until well into the twentieth century as evidenced by *A Catholic Dictionary*.[11] There "theology" is summarized in one sentence: "The science which treats of God and the things of God."[12] Following that we are given descriptions of various areas in theology: ascetical, dogmatic, moral, mystical, natural pastoral, and positive theologies.[13] A second entry on the relationship between "Religion and the Physical Sciences" offers some clarification, by way of comparison, about the nature of theology. Science enables a

> knowledge of things by their causes. The end of demonstration is science, which is a certain and evident knowledge of a truth arrived at by demonstration. It deals with conclusions, not with principles. In modern usage the word is, by a perversion of language, confined to physical science and *scientific* to that which is concerned with what only deserves the name in a secondary and inferior sense.[14]

Physical science is inferior because it "deals with the properties of things" while theology considers the relationship between the human and the divine, that is, eternal verities. To this, one may have added the classic, *fides quaerens intellectum* ("faith seeking understanding"). An isolated academic air, a general sense of hostility toward modern science, and an aloofness from direct human experience stand out as noteworthy characteristics of the pre-Vatican II theological landscape.

By the time of Vatican II, most Roman Catholic theologians recognized that modern life required a reevaluation of theology's task and method. Rahner and Vorgrimler, in the *Concise Theological Dictionary*, present an extended consideration of the theological discipline.[15]

---

[11] Donald Attwater, gen. ed., *A Catholic Dictionary (The Catholic Encyclopaedic Dictionary)* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943).
[12] Attwater, 520.
[13] Attwater, 520–21.
[14] Attwater, 478.
[15] Karl Rahner and Herbert Vorgrimler, *Concise Theological Dictionary*, ed. Cornelius Ernst, O.P., trans. Richard Strachan (London: Burns & Oats, 1965).

> In the strict sense (as distinct from philosophy, metaphysics, mythology, and natural knowledge of God) it [theology] is essentially the conscious effort of the Christian to hearken to the actual verbal revelation which God has promulgated in history, to acquire a knowledge of it by the methods of scholarship and to reflect upon its implications. […] Real theology has as its basis an undistorted hearing of God's word with a view to salvation, ultimately in the service of salvation itself.[16]

In academia, theology presumes religious conviction because it deals with matters of faith. Like the Christian life from which it arises, theology is predicated upon scripture and tradition. Theology represents the Church's active, constant, and continuous self-conscious reflection. Because people conduct this activity in their own historical and cultural milieu, theology necessarily bears the mark of the Church's experience and perspectives at a particular time and place. Nevertheless, it transcends its own particularity by proclaiming the Church's faith in the Trinitarian God who accomplishes salvation for the human race through Jesus Christ. Theology requires "methodical effort to acquire knowledge of a complete, internally unified subject" and, on that basis, is properly speaking a science.[17]

Rahner and Vorgrimler articulate a theological project with broad parameters. Their definition portrays a turn toward the dynamic character of human/divine relationship in history and the importance of God's word in that event. Yet, they continue the tradition of identifying theology with academia. Theology, according to this model, is done by theologians who "typically raise questions about meaning, look for the truth, prefer theology in a university setting, dialogue with professional colleagues, privilege written texts and use criteria suggested by reason."[18] Another approach to

---

[16] Ibid., 456.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Gerald O'Collings, S.J., and Edward G. Farrugia, S.J., *A Concise Dictionary of Theology* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 240.

theology, however, began to appear even as the *Concise Theological Dictionary* went to press.

In the early 1970s, Latin American theologians began publishing their responses to human suffering brought about by social injustice.[19] Their efforts to address this subject matter were nothing new within the Church.[20] What was new was the call to reconfigure theological method.

Gustavo Gutierrez, one of the twentieth century's most prominent Roman Catholic theologians, asserts that theology is a secondary activity.[21] "Secondary" indicates chronology rather than principle. In other words, the Church's first activity is the proclamation of the Good News (*praxis*, pastoral activity, pastoral ministry) upon which it conducts "critical reflection" (*theory* or its synonyms—theological reflection, theology). Gutierrez postulates that *praxis* comes first and that it is followed by *theory*.

---

[19] The first stirrings of liberation theology occurred in the late 1950s upon which followed several conferences of Latin American theologians through the 1960s. This activity culminated in congresses devoted to liberation theology which took place in Bogota, Columbia, during March 1970 and July 1971. (Leonardo Boff and Clodovis Boff, *Introducing Liberation Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987), 66–77.) The landmark publication was Gustavo Gutierrez's, *A Theology of Liberation*, cited earlier. Works of other theologians pursuing similar methodology followed: Hugo Assmann, *Teología desde la praxis de liberación. Ensayo teológico desde América Latina dependiente*. (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1973) (Engl. trans., *Theology for a Nomad Church* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1975)); Clodovis Boff, *Teología e práctica* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1978) (Engl. trans., *Theology and Praxis: Epistemological Foundations* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1987)); Leonardo Boff, *Jesus Cristo Libertador* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1971) (Engl. trans., *Jesus Christ Liberator* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1973); Jon Sobrino, *Cristología desde América Latina* (Mexico City, 1976) (Engl. trans., *Christology at the Crossroads* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1978)).

[20] Latin American theologians, of course, found encouragement in documents from the Second Vatican Council. *Gaudium et spes*, the Council's Pastoral Constitution promulgated on December 7, 1965, asserts the church's anthropology and supports previous teachings on human dignity and social justice. Part I, especially, makes continuous reference to human suffering and the church's embroilment in it.

[21] Gutierrez, xxxiii.

> By preaching the Gospel message, by its sacraments, and by the charity of its members, the Church proclaims and shelters the gift of the Kingdom of God in the heart of human history. … Theology is reflection, a critical attitude. Theology *follows* [emphasis in original]; it is the second step. What Hegel used to say about philosophy can likewise be applied to theology: it rises only at sundown. The pastoral activity of the Church does not flow as a conclusion from theological premises. Theology does not produce pastoral activity; rather it reflects upon it. Theology must be able to find in pastoral activity the presence of the Spirit inspiring the action of the Christian community.[22]

The link between praxis and theory is crucial and indispensable. Praxis keeps theology rooted in tangible concerns and historical context. Without an awareness of history, the Church runs the risk of propagating "an ideology that rationalizes and justifies a given social and ecclesial order."[23] Theology is neither an isolated academic task nor an afterthought bearing no relation to present-day concerns; it is an integral part of the Christian witness. The human intellect ascribes meaning to things through critical reflection. Theological reflection searches for meaning in the Church's activity, that is, it seeks God in all of life because the Church is "truly and intimately linked with mankind."[24] Finding the workings of the Spirit in the world fills the Church with hope in the promise of future glory—the Kingdom of God.[25] This generated hope leads to further activity for the seeds of the Kingdom are planted by the Church's ministry, Christian "commitment and prayer."[26] Gutierrez concludes that

> the theology of liberation…does not stop with reflecting on the world, but rather tries to be part of the process through which the world is transformed. It is a theology which is open—in the protest against trampled human dignity, in the struggle against the plunder of the vast majority of humankind, in liberating love,

---

[22] Ibid., 9.
[23] Ibid., 9–10.
[24] *Gaudium et spes*, 1, 200.
[25] Gutierrez, 11–12.
[26] Ibid., xxxiv.

> and in the building of a new, just and comradely society—to the gift of the Kingdom of God.[27]

Thus, theology feeds on the raw material provided by Christian living even in the midst of dire poverty and oppression. In turn, theology nourishes a joyful hope that the resurrection of Christ opens eternal life for those who believe. Yet, liberation theology is no apology for the "scandalous condition" of poverty because it envisions a total transformation of humanity.[28]

After its appearance, liberation theology's influence on the entire theological discipline defies overstatement. The *praxis-theory-praxis* model and Gutierrez's acknowledgement that "the new theological thinking…comes more from the Christian groups committed to the liberation of their people than from the traditional centers for the teaching of theology" led to profound changes in theological methods.[29] Professional theologians faced the challenge of confronting social injustice in ways previously unexplored. Furthermore, theology came to be seen as a public practice in which professional theologians exercise a unique responsibility.[30]

This overview of Roman Catholic theology provides the reader with a sense of theology's function and import within Roman Catholicism. It contrasts the underpinnings of post-Tridentine with post-Vatican II theological methods. The former projected a "defensive attitude as regards the faith" and concerned itself with traditional

---

[27] Ibid., 12.
[28] Ibid., 24–25.
[29] Ibid., 58.
[30] David Tracy's, *The Analogical Imagination: Christian Theology and the Culture of Pluralism* (New York: Crossroads, 1981), dedicates itself to exploring the many "publics" to which theologians are responsible. The title of the book, whose author is Roman Catholic, signifies a convergence among mainline Christians; it speaks to "Christian" rather than "Roman Catholic" theology. This indicates a growing recognition that the nature of theology among Christians is more similar than different.

subject areas, as listed by Attwater.[31] On the one hand, music would not have featured as a topic for theological consideration under those categories. On the other hand, musical *style* was of great concern in Roman juridical and pastoral documents from time to time, as will be discussed later. After Vatican II, theology struggles to engage with praxis rather than to remain completely confined to traditional topics and methods. Theology ponders the whole human condition—its culture, sufferings, hopes, and so forth. That concerns about repertoire take precedence over methodical and critical reflection on musical praxis (that is, music as an ecclesial event) witnesses to a lacuna in theology. Closer inspection of a nineteenth century parallel between theology and liturgical music underscores the mindset.

Part II: The Terms of Nineteenth Century Catholicism

Roman Catholic theologians identify and use historical periods in a manner slightly different from that used by musicologists because the two disciplines account for different kinds of events in distinct academic cultures. For example, ecclesiastical scholars frequently address circumstances in periods and cultures with which modern musicology often does not concern itself. Much more is known about religion than about music in ancient Israel (biblical times) and among early Christians (the apostolic age and patristic period or late antiquity) within the Roman Empire and Byzantium. The bulk of western musicological research begins with Europe's medieval period that leads into subsequent periods. Ecclesiastics recognize and use terms such as medieval and Renaissance. Beyond the late fifteenth century, however, some theologians, turning their

[31] Gutierrez uses this phrase in connection with "[T]he Latin American Christian community [that] came into being during the Counter-Reformation and has always been characterized by its defensive attitude as regards the faith." (Gutierrez, 58.) However, it may be applied generally to the post-Reformation period.

gaze toward theological trends, employ a different kind of periodization from the one familiar to musicologists.

Four major historical events between 1500 and the present act as points of reference for contemporary Roman Catholic theologians: 1) the Council of Trent (1545–1563) which initiated liturgical changes and defined Roman Catholic doctrines in response to 2) the institution of the Reformed Churches in the early sixteenth century; 3) the First Vatican Council (1865–1869) which promulgated a significant dogmatic statement (papal infallibility) and condemned "modernist" theological trends in the Church; and 4) the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) which brought about radical reforms in almost every area of Church life.

The First Vatican Council's agenda was quite limited and prompted by Pope Pius IX (1846–1878) whose desire was to promote ultramontane policies. To achieve this the Council reinforced and, at times, reinterpreted Trent to conform it to a centralizing program.[32] The Council unequivocally articulated a centralized governing authority in Rome that simultaneously reinforced Roman Catholicism's character as a divine institution whose members fell neatly into a hierarchy with the pope at the top, followed in order by, cardinals, bishops, priests, people living under religious obedience (monks, nuns, friars, "active" sisters, etc.), and laity.[33] According to this theology of Church

---

[32] Raymond F. Bulman, "Introduction: The Historical Context," in *From Trent to Vatican II*, 6, 13–14; Guiseppe Alberigo, "From the Council of Trent to 'Tridentinism'," in *From Trent to Vatican II*, 19–37. Alberigo argues that the theology of Trent was seriously distorted by theologians sympathetic to the Roman Curia's desire for centralized authority.

[33] John Markey, O.P., gives a brief summary of the Church as *societas perfecta* which was operative in the Neo-Baroque. (*Creating Communion: The Theology of the Constitutions of the Church* (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2003), 32–37.) See also, Patrick Granfield, "The Church as 'Societas Perfecta' in the Scheme of Vatican I," *Church History* 48 (December 1979): 431–46; and "The Rise and Fall of Societas Perfecta," *Concilium No. 157: May Church Ministers be Politicians?*," edited by Peter

(*ecclesiology*), God accomplishes salvation by dispensing grace to humanity through the Church in the form of sacraments. The laity attended the most commonly celebrated sacrament (the Mass or Eucharist) in order to receive grace although not necessarily by receiving the sacrament itself.[34] The "sacrifice of the Mass," to use the post-Tridentine terminology, was effected solely by the priest.[35] During the medieval period, the Mass increasingly became a private activity of the priest. In such cases, a choir did not have to be present and neither was the priest required to chant any part of the Mass.[36]

Huizing and Knewt Walf (New York: Seabury, 1982), 3–4. For an account of the Church as hierarchy to the detriment of St. Paul's view of Church as body of Christ, see Bernard Cooke, *The Distancing of God: The Ambiguity of Symbol in History and Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 125–257.

[34] "Grace" may be defined as God's self-giving manifested through spiritual gifts for the benefit of the Church and the person. Reception of the sacred species (the consecrated bread and wine) was not the only manner of receiving grace at Mass nor was it always deemed appropriate and desirable to receive communion. Scholars agree that beginning in the early middle ages there was a great decline in the number of faithful coming to communion. "[The faithful] did not pray the Mass; they prayed during Mass." (Johannes H. Emminghaus, *The Eucharist: Essence, Form, Celebration*, trans. Linda M. Maloney (Collegeville, Minn: The Liturgical Press, 1997), 70.) Frequent communion was not customary and those who did communicate often received the sacrament outside of the celebration of the Mass. (Emminghaus, 87.) Mass was an occasion to pray and wait for the moment when the consecrated elements (the host in particular) were elevated for the faithful to see. (Emminghaus, 80–82; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 91–111.) Hence the quip known to most Roman Catholic students of liturgical theology: "The Gaze That Saves" or "The Saving Gaze." Merely seeing the sacred elements was a moment of grace.

[35] Robert J. Daly, "Robert Bellarmine and Post-Tridentine Eucharistic Theology," in *From Trent to Vatican II*, 81–101.

[36] Agreeing with studies of the German chant scholar Godehard Joppich, Anthony Ruff points out that "Gregorian chant is not 'music'" because it developed as a unique synthesis of Latin rhetoric, theology, and spirituality. This line of argumentation, which Ruff pursues, has many practical and theological implications. (*Sacred Music and Liturgical Reform: Treasures and Transformations* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 2007), 466–507.) Ruff notes that *Tra le sollecitudini* also seems to regard Gregorian chant as something other than music. (Ruff, 277.) I would argue that chanting other texts of the Mass (for example, scripture and prayers) also could be included in this category of liturgical discourse.

Practically and theologically speaking, then, the laity's presence was not required. The laity was instructed that their desire to attend and their attentive presence was their only obligation. Their intention and prayerful presence enabled them to receive God's grace. The sacraments, therefore, functioned as sacred currency with which a divine exchange was negotiated. Humanity offered worship, praise, and adoration; God dispensed grace leading toward salvation. These teachings were clearly expressed in the popular *Baltimore Catechism* prepared by the bishops of the United States at the end of the nineteenth century.

Consistent with the teachings of Trent and with developments after Vatican I, this ecclesiology fostered among the faithful a spirituality (an approach to the human/divine relationship supported by customs and practices) peculiar to Roman Catholicism. Thus, theology and spirituality formed a religious system spanning from around 1500 into the 1960s.[37] Some contemporary Roman Catholic theologians refer to the epoch and to its accompanying Roman Catholic culture as "Baroque."[38] An extended quote illustrates one theologian's conception of the Baroque.

> The epochal period, the time of cultural renewal and religious expansion, was the Baroque. This has been the most recent great era in Roman Catholic life. With variations it reappeared and continued from 1820 to 1960. There are less than a dozen important periods in Western Christianity, and the Baroque is one of these. Worldwide Catholicism is leaving the Baroque. … When one refers to the Baroque spirit one is speaking of the new theologies and spiritualities, new ministries and arts pioneered by Ignatius Loyola, Philip Neri, Teresa of Avila and

---

[37] Yves Congar, *Fifty Years of Catholic Theology*, ed. Bernard Lauret (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 3–4, quoted by Bulman, "Introduction: The Historical Context," in *From Trent to Vatican II*, 12.

[38] Rahner and Vorgrimler, 458; O'Meara, "Leaving the Baroque: The Fallacy of Restoration in the Postconciliar Period," *America* 174 Issue 3 (2/3/96): 10–28, http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/ehost/detail?vid=4&hid=3&sid=d980825d-7641-4231-a87e-c8720b3e8990%40SRCSM2 (accessed 2/12/08); O'Meara, *Seeing Theological Forms*, Monograph Number Six (Belmont, CA: Archives of Modern Christian Art, 1997), 7–8.

> their numerous followers—all of which manifested a new inter-play between grace and personality. … The Baroque world is also a theater: buildings, city squares and baldachinos, spaces set off for human performance. Liturgies, operas, frescos or palatial receptions were theatrical, and Baroque Christianity was filled with visions and ecstasies, with martyrs, missionaries and stigmatics. … The theater of the Christian life and the kingdom of God contracted, moving from the great outdoors of the medieval cosmos and society to the interior of the Baroque church and the life of the soul. But as the Enlightenment neared, that brilliant milieu of gold-edged sacramentality withdrew from a world that was becoming cold and uncertain, Protestant and modern. Thus in the 18th century the light of the Baroque heaven was replaced by the light of scientific reason. To understand Catholicism today it is crucial to grasp that the Baroque period of the church did not cease in 1750. It went underground during the Enlightenment and then re-emerged with the arrival of Romanticism, thus lasting well into the 20th century, up to Vatican II. … Catholics and others believed that the preconciliar church exemplified life in Roman catacombs or Cistercian monasteries, when in fact its liturgy and devotions were those of the Baroque or the 19th century.[39]

O'Meara recognizes the Enlightenment and Romanticism as cultural phenomena distinguishable from Catholicism's Baroque period. This period may be divided into two parts. In fact, some theologians have a preference for speaking about the Baroque (that began in the early sixteenth century) and the Neo-Baroque (its nineteenth century manifestation). The term Baroque in this context has little to do with the music of Sweelinck, J.S. Bach, Handel, or Telemann. But, it does have plenty to do with Roman Catholic liturgical music ranging from Palestrina to Marc-Antoine Charpentier, to Beethoven through to whichever twentieth century composer wrote for the pre-Vatican II Church. Plainchant, certainly, is implicated in Baroque-ness because of its nineteenth century revival, not to mention the easy link to ultramontanism (to be considered later) through Dom Prosper Guèranger (1805–1875) and Pope Pius IX.[40]

---

[39] O'Meara, "Leaving the Baroque."
[40] Nicholas Atkin and Frank Tallet, *Priests, Prelates & People: A History of European Catholicism Since 1750* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 132.

While a musicologist discerns a diversity of musical styles in Roman Catholic liturgical music between Palestrina and the early twentieth century, a theologian identifies this period with Baroque and Neo-Baroque theology and spirituality. As such, the music manifests a specific type of Roman Catholic culture.[41] This is so because music functions within cultural expression.[42] To put it in theological terms: as symbolic activity, liturgical music ritualizes theology.[43]

Liturgical practice of the Catholic Baroque did not require verbal responses from the congregation during Mass. As mentioned above, God's grace was communicated through the appropriate ritual actions and content accompanied by the person's good intentions. Additionally, in common parlance, the faithful "heard Mass" as the priest "said Mass." Music supported the people's liturgical participation that primarily was identified as aural, the essential sounds being uttered by the priest rather than laity and certainly not another musical instrument.[44] Depending on the size of the church and the

---

[41] Both Bruno Nettl (*The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-One Issues and Concepts*, New Edition (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 216) and John Blacking (Reginald Byron, ed., *Music, Culture, Experience: Selected Papers of John Blacking* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 226) follow Edward Burnett Tylor's definition of culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." (*Primitive Culture* (London: Murray, 1871).

[42] Nettl, 215–31; Byron, 223–42.

[43] Judith Marie Kubicki, *Liturgical Music as Ritual Symbol: A Case study of Jacques Berthier's Taizé Music* (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 1999). Blacking perceives this in his study of South African churches (Byron, 198–222).

[44] "Prior to the Second Vatican Council, it was required that the priest recite all parts of the Mass, including those sung by the choir." (Keith Pecklers, S.J., *The Unread Vision: The Liturgical Movement in the United States of America, 1926–1955* (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1988), 55.) This is apparent in papal and curial documents from the early twentieth century such as *De musica sacra et sacra liturgia* (no. 27) where organ playing or singing is ordered to stop at certain parts because the priest has arrived at a more solemn point of the Mass (the consecration). The priest's vocalization was more important. It also shows that his own ritual activity was independent of the choir's

altar's distance from the congregation, the priest's words may not have been audible even if one were to have understood his Latin. From a theological perspective, Mass did not require music to communicate grace. Hence, there was sung (or high) Mass with singing and musical accompaniment; and low (or read) Mass that was spoken. Music's ability to move the soul, however, could be exploited to enhance the assembly's receptivity to grace.

Because liturgical music existed within Catholic culture, it should come as no surprise that ultramontanism—so common throughout nineteenth century Catholic Europe—played a significant role in shaping musical repertoire. When the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815) redrew political borders many Catholics became subject to Protestant rulers.

> …4 out of the 6 million inhabitants of the United Netherlands were Catholic. In Prussia, there were 4 million Catholics, constituting around two-fifths of the population of 10.3 million. Three million Polish Catholics were under Orthodox Russian government. In other non-Catholic countries, the plight of 'dissident' Catholics was of longer standing. In the Ottoman Empire the status of its 500,000 Catholics was a perennial issue; in the Protestant British isles, Ireland's 4.5 million Catholics had been incorporated into the overall population as a result of the Act of Union of 1802; and in Switzerland there resided 750,000 Catholics out of an approximate population of 2.3 million. … Catholicism still remained the majority religion in Europe, its 100 million adherents outnumbering all other faiths combined.[45]

Although Catholicism represented a majority of the European population, in many places Catholics lived socially and politically marginalized. There also was an intellectual marginalization. Goethe and Hegel, for example, were no friends of Catholicism; Catholicism was a "primitive and repressive" religion.[46] Ultramontanism balanced such

---

singing. In the post-Vatican II liturgy, the priest sings or recites the ordinary with the congregation of which the choir is a part.

[45] Atkin and Tallet, 93.

[46] O'Meara, *Romantic Idealism*, 4, 90-91, 122.

disenfranchisement with membership in something that transcended political boundaries. It provided Roman Catholics, whether laity or clergy, with an identity in the face of the Protestant or Orthodox majority.[47] Clergy reaped political benefits, as well. Supreme papal authority maintained a venue through which a priest could challenge his own bishop's authority; and to bishops, it offered an outside negotiator against the state.[48] Thus, ultramontanism "came to embody an ideology that took in liturgy, devotion, clerical discipline, theology and extended to the realm of politics, social action and culture."[49] Additionally, historicism and Romantic ideals converge in nineteenth century Germany to color Roman Catholic theology and liturgical music.

[47] Atkin and Tallet, 130.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.

MUSICAL AND THEOLOGICAL PARALLELS

The Palestrina Revival

Although Protestant and Catholic Palestrina revivals each were fueled by distinct concerns, historicism and the quest for a golden age appeared as a common denominator.[50] Both Nietzsche and J.J. Winckelmann agreed that history ought to inform the present. Nietzsche counseled in favor of a critical attitude toward historical studies; one ought not establish contemporary norms solely on the basis of past practices.[51] For Nietzsche, "monumental" was one manner by which the past might influence the present. The monumental approach points out the success of the past and creates a canon of works to inspire and call the present generation to task. Products of the monumental perspective include a narrative that records the unfolding of an organic process leading to the present and an enumeration of "classical" artifacts with universal authority. Selecting highlights from the past, however, involves construing the past according to modern tastes and recounting something closer to fiction than to truth.[52] Nietzsche objected to such distortion.

Nevertheless, Winckelmann's presentation of art history follows a monumental scheme by proposing three phases.[53] According to Winckelmann, one may assume that art history follows a model of organic development, which builds to a climax (a golden age), declines, and resurges when golden-age principles are applied. As a case in point, ancient Greek and Renaissance art (especially Michelangelo and Raphael) were golden

---

[50] Garratt, 133.
[51] Ibid., 14–22.
[52] Ibid., 15.
[53] Ibid., 16.

ages, the latter age having learned and acquired "good taste" from the former. Mixed in with Winckelmann's historicism also is what Nietzsche identified as the antiquarian—a reverence for "the past as a means of gaining contentment" and "deep-rootedness" in the present.[54]

The implication of Winckelmann's historical model was not lost on nineteenth century musicians.

> [T]he Romantic idealization of Palestrina was, in some ways, related to the classicizing dimension of Winckelmann's monumental historicism, to his view that the value of ancient artworks lies not in their pastness but in the universal norms of perfection, which their techniques epitomize.[55]

Palestrina's music captivated the Romantic era with its sonic beauty as much as with its symbolic value. German Protestant romantics recovered and redeemed Palestrina's music for themselves, overlooking his Catholicism. The religious content could not be avoided nor was this a desired objective. On the contrary, Palestrina was portrayed as the product of medieval Christianity, "simple, true, childlike, pious, strong, and sturdy; truly Christian in his works."[56] The Palestrina style encapsulated a past worthy of emulation. And no past was as desirable as the Italian. German fascination with Italy pre-dated the nineteenth century. Italy represented a connection to a glorious past when European art and culture were united by Christianity and the Holy Roman Empire. Napoleon's dissolution of that dying entity escalated German esteem for Italy.[57]

Roman Catholics in Vienna had a continuous tradition of performing Palestrina and other Renaissance composers. This was true from about 1700 onward.[58] German

---

[54] Ibid., 19.
[55] Ibid., 17.
[56] E.T.A. Hoffman, "Alte und neue Kirchenmusik," *E.T.A. Hoffmanns Werke*, ed. Georg Ellinger (Berlin, n.d. [1894]), vol XIV, 35–57, quoted by Garratt, 50.
[57] Garratt, 49.
[58] Ibid., 136.

historicism exerted its influence over this performing tradition. An essay by C.W. Fröhlich explicitly credits the writings of Hoffmann and other Protestant writers with contributing to the reform of Roman Catholic liturgical music.[59] Further, Fröhlich calls not for "the strengthening of existing traditions but rather a return to the spirit of sixteenth-century church music, identified explicitly as the product of the golden age of Catholicism."[60]

Like Vienna, the promotion of Palestrina and Renaissance music in Munich was a combination of traditionalism and historicist thinking.[61] Regensburg, however, was another matter in that music at the cathedral was in a " meager state" in the 1820s.[62] The introduction there of *stylus a capella* was an attempt to establish a model for others to follow. By the 1830s, the concerted style at Regensburg cathedral had been abandoned in favor of the older Renaissance music deemed to be more venerable and proper for services. Leading this march was Carl Proske (1794–1861), an editor and canon at the cathedral. Proske's arguments in favor of Palestrina were a clear combination of ultramontane Catholicism and historicism.

> [T]he music of Palestrina and his contemporaries [was] the product of a golden age of Catholicism…[Proske thought that] the model for all liturgical music should be plainchant—'the holy scriptures of church music'—and sixteenth-century polyphony achieves its primacy not only from the religious dedication of its composers, but by being a 'miraculous transfiguration' (*wunderbare Verklärung*) of the chant. … Palestrina's absolute preeminence as the exemplar of the church style derives from his status as a reformer in a 'conservative, truly Catholic sense'; for Proske, the style of Palestrina grew exclusively from the consecrated ground of the Church, and its innermost being is entirely governed by

---

[59] "Uber die musikalische Feyer des katholischen Gottesdienstes überhaupt; und die Art einer dem Zeitbedürfnisse gemässen Einrichtung und Verbesserung derselben," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 22 (1820), 369–380, 389–96, 405–13, 421–30, quoted by Garratt, 135.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid., 141.
[62] Ibid.

> Catholicism. In arguing for a restitution of the music and thus the spirituality of the Renaissance, Proske borrows two further themes from the Protestant Romantics: an organicist conception of Palestrina's place in music history, and the view that the repertory of the papal choir provides a model for modern reforms.[63]

Although this passage makes it impossible to assess Proske's theological opinions precisely, it is clear that he prefers older music of a more glorious time that, for him, happens to be that of sixteenth-century Rome. He prefers it to the point that he sees no reason for new compositions unless they make an uncompromising effort to follow the older and more venerable Palestrina style.[64]

The founding of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Cäcilien-Verein* (which changed names at various points, finally ending up with *Allgemeine-Cäcilien-Verband für die Länder der deutschen Sprache* after 1956) in 1868, led by the priest, Franz Xaver Witt (1834–1888), brought about a decisive moment in the promotion of Palestrina, Lassus, Renaissance polyphony, and plainchant in Germany.[65] The organization, like others in southern Germany, was ultramontanist in its orientation. The Cecilian movement (named for St. Cecilia, patron saint of music) also addressed patriotic and nationalist concerns. Lassus' affiliation with the court of Munich, for example, greatly accounts for the high regard granted to his music.[66] Finally, Witt identified the church as a place for promoting *die Bildung des Volkes* because it was a place where people of all classes could be edified or educated by good music.[67]

---

[63] Ibid., 142, quoting Carl Proske, ed., *Musica divina*, ser. I, vol. I (Regensburg, 1853); repr. New York and London 1973), xviii, vi.
[64] Ibid., 143–44.
[65] Ibid., 145–46.
[66] Ibid., 146.
[67] Ibid.

Catholic Romanticism and the Baroque Re-emergence

O'Meara characterizes the events of the Reformation as having "two acts" in which Luther and Kant played leading roles.[68] In response to Luther's methodological return to biblical texts (especially the Apostle Paul) and to St. Augustine, the Council of Trent retorted with reasserting the primacy of medieval scholasticism, a system faithfully maintained by Catholic intellectuals through the first half of the eighteenth century.[69] In a sense, the scholastic theological method acted as a kind of fortification against modern enemies.

> Rome, despairing of the directions of rationalism, retreated from culture to the patristic and especially to the medieval. … Rome rejected not only the institutions of the modern world—democracy, science, development—but rejected new forms of cultural life such as subjectivity, evolution, freedom. Rome dreamt and cultivated happier, theonomous, sacramental times of the past.[70]

Although post-Tridentine scholasticism made great strides toward systematizing St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), the great Dominican theologian of medieval Europe, and developing various areas of theology (moral theology, historical theology), much of this work was done by the early 1700s.[71] Unfortunately, however, both Dominicans and Jesuits contributed toward elevating Aquinas to the level of sole representative of medieval scholasticism.[72] Only until the early twentieth century did scholars offer a corrective by demonstrating the variety of theological opinions and disagreements that were a feature of medieval theology.[73] So monochromatic had Roman Catholic theology become by the eighteenth century that in his survey Karl Rahner (1904–1984), the

---

[68] O'Meara, *Romantic Idealism*, 2.
[69] Ibid., 65.
[70] Ibid., 3.
[71] Rahner & Vorgrimler, 459.
[72] O'Meara, *Church and Culture*, 35.
[73] Ibid.

eminent Jesuit theologian, quickly skims over the century calling it a period of stagnation.[74]

In the opening years of the nineteenth century, Roman Catholic theologians in Germany "creatively engaged with the culture of the time…assuming that [they] could find a new synthesis through post-Kantian idealism."[75] Their mentor was the Protestant philosopher, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (1775–1854), who spent much of his career in Bavaria.[76] Schelling's thought offered Roman Catholic theologians a means of navigating through Romanticism without surrendering faith in revelation.

> Roman Catholicism had long been the defender of objectivity. Subjectivity implied excessive freedom, relativism, the absence of obedience to God's word and the church's voice. The influence of Aristotle and the shock of Luther reinforced in Catholicism a supreme allegiance to the object. The German Catholic intellectual community, on the other hand, without eschewing church and doctrine but reacting against the Enlightenment's secularity, accepted the shift to subjectivity.[77]

This openness, however, began to turn around the 1830s due to significant ecclesial and political events. The first was the election of Pope Gregory XVI (1831–1846), supported by Metternich, who dedicated himself to investing the papacy with greater authority. Documents from Rome began attacking "intellectual life north of the Alps."[78] King Ludwig I, a promoter of Catholic Romanticism to which Rome objected, experienced waning authority and influence until his abdication in 1848.

---

[74] Rahner & Vorgrimler, 459.
[75] O'Meara, *Romantic Idealism*, 4.
[76] Schelling lectured at Würzburg (1803–1806) and then accepted a professorship at Munich (1806–1841). (O'Meara, *Romantic Idealism*, 58, 115.)
[77] O'Meara, *Romantic Idealism*, 13.
[78] Ibid., 181.

Thus, the nineteenth century witnessed a conflict among Roman Catholic theologians. On the one hand was neoscholasticism which aligned with the Baroque and on the other hand was transcendental idealism, an expression of Catholic romanticism.

> [T]he "Roman" and the "German" paths, [respectively,] were both present after 1848; they reached a state of tension and crisis by the 1860s and ended in a worldwide neoscholastic revival which was normative in the 1880s and dominant by 1900 (and remained so until 1950). From 1848 to 1868 neoscholasticism made inroads in schools and among scholars.[79]

Neoscholasticism, a theological method rooted in the medieval period, best harmonized with the papacy's historicist and ultramontanist program.

> The German neoscholastics labeled subject-oriented thought "Protestant," and the modern realm of self was banished from Roman theology. But historicism and scholasticism, were more than perceived, rational frameworks, even if they convinced others that they were free of all subjectivism. To a world adrift amid storms of evolution and emotion, they did sometimes appear as detached viewers in the gallery of the real world. … Rome and circles of scholars throughout Europe came to favor a new philosophy, a replacement for Cartesianism and the Enlightenment but also for Romanticism and idealism. The "new philosophy" was, of course, an old philosophy: medieval, Christian, scholastic.[80]

Neoscholastic thought pointed to an objective truth that transcended creation, including the Church but in which the Church participated by the grace of God. In a special way, the papacy manifested the Church's link to truth. Thus, "neoscholasticism was viewed as the intellectual and theological form of all that was ultramontane; it was linked to the Jesuits as its special proponents and to Rome as a parent-school and command center."[81]

---

[79] O'Meara, *Church and Culture*, 25.
[80] O'Meara, *Romantic Idealism*, 190–91.
[81] O'Meara, *Church and Culture*, 34; Gerald A. McCool, S.J., *Nineteenth Century Scholasticism: The Search for a Unitary Method* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1989), 23.

Summary

To clarify some terminology: theologians often label the resurgence of an ecclesial environment pre-dating the Enlightenment, that is, scholastic theology and Baroque spirituality, with "neo"—neoscholasticism and neo-Thomism (after St. Thomas Aquinas). Neo-Baroque Catholicism, therefore, is an appropriate term to describe the spirituality and religious system that pervaded Roman Catholicism from the Council of Trent to the Second Vatican Council.

Nineteenth century Catholic theology continued to struggle with the Reformation and the Enlightenment's move toward subjectivity. Although German theologians in the early part of the century attempted to explore Romanticism's affinity with Catholicism, the papacy's concern with consolidating and centralizing its own authority promoted a theological method that reached back to the medieval period. Liturgically, the Church maintained and subsisted on Trent's late-sixteenth century reforms. Within this Neo-Baroque system, the Mass primarily was understood as a vehicle for dispensing grace to the faithful. The congregation observed a divine drama unfolding at the altar. Their presence was required for their own benefit (receiving grace) but priests, at times assisted by lower ranks of clergy, were the principle actors in the ritual.[82]

As nineteenth century theologians reached back to earlier theological methods, Roman Catholic and Protestant musicians found common cause in a particular kind of historicism that canonized liturgical music from an earlier era.

---

[82] Ruff points out that from the medieval period until the Second Vatican Council, the choir was generally understood to be a clerical organization. The Cecilian movement and Pope Pius X certainly agreed with this view. In principle, then, the choir's liturgical and ministerial role was founded upon the clerical state of its members. Ruff, 382–426.

> History becomes a strategy of retrieval and repossession: the cherishing of objects from the past represents an attempted return to origins, an endeavor to deny the pastness of the past by asserting the pastness of the present.[83]

For Catholic musicians, turning to the past and finding there a model for liturgical music happened to agree with a theological trend within their own Church, a trend that idolized Roman interpretation of Church and faith. Catholic identity came from Rome. Rome functioned as a symbol of unity in faith and tradition. Practically speaking, this meant centralized leadership and theological conformity.

Thus, theology, liturgy, and music act in concert to support the Church's proclamation of faith. Neoscholastic theology fit within a particular type of Catholic life; its method sustained a specific kind of religious self-consciousness which was reflected in Church rituals. With regard to the Mass, the laity, music, and chanting were not required liturgical activities.

In response to this essay's first question, "Is music at Mass necessary?," Neo-Baroque Catholicism would reply first by distinguishing between two modes of celebrating the Mass: sung Mass and low Mass. At sung Mass at least the minister at the altar chanted. No choral singing or chanting was required at low Mass. Hymns and solo organ were permitted during certain moments. The answer to the question, therefore, would be yes and no depending on the kind of Mass being offered. Featuring prominently in the response would be the unequivocal statement that the fundamental purpose of the Mass is to communicate grace. God does so by becoming present on the altar in the form of bread and wine through the person of the priest functioning at the altar. All other participants and things are secondary. Church law and liturgical rubrics (the priest's ritual gestures, words, and actions) supported this liturgical theology.

---

[83] Garratt, 12.

"[E]xcessive emphasis on liturgical law" and rubrics point to the "legal formalism and liturgical casuistry" of the period.[84]

At the heart of Neo-Baroque Catholicism's response to the second question, "Why should Gregorian chant and polyphony hold 'pride of place' in the Roman rite?," lay the complex interplay between theology and music on the one hand, and historicist and ultramontane principles on the other. Musicians and ecclesiastics thought that some music from the past (Gregorian chant and Palestrina) was artistically worthy of imitation and performance. The music represented a glorious age of Catholicism with its attendant theology. Polyphonic repertoire clearly did not invite vocal responses from congregants but the people's vocal participation was not necessary during the Mass.

By the early twentieth century, the papacy assumed the task of promoting vocal responses from the congregation. To do so, Pius X took an initiative by virtue of his own patriarchal authority (*motu proprio*), an authority that had solidified during the nineteenth century even as European culture became more secularized. The congregation was to sing by using plainchant. Ironically, as we shall see, it was a repertoire that most Catholics either did not know, were incapable of singing, or were not willing to sing. That anyone except educated elite or ecclesiastics ever had enough education and training to perform the chants is questionable.[85] Yet, the papacy seemed determined to promote

---

[84] Emminghaus, 88. Before Vatican II, seminarians did not study liturgy in terms of its history, development, and theology. Someone on the seminary staff or faculty taught rubrics—the mechanics of how to administer the sacraments (including Mass). Great care had to be taken in observing rubrics. It was necessary to conduct the ritual properly so as not to incur sin. (Rita Ferrone, *Liturgy: Sacrosanctum Concilium*, *Rediscoverying Vatican II*, ed. Christopher M. Bellitto (New York: Paulist Press, 2007), 3–4.)

[85] Citing other authorities, Ruff states: "Gregorian chant Propers are highly specialized, even elitist by nature." His whole discussion on "Semiology and the Spirituality of Chant," however, clearly points out the bond between monasticism and the Gregorian tradition. (Ruff, 482–499.) It is safe to say that before the twentieth century Roman Catholic monastics and clerics had access to education not available to most people.

plainchant and polyphony as normative for Roman Catholic liturgy. Arguably, this trend begins to turn with Pius XII. The denouement to this instance of Rome's liturgical music project comes in the wake of Vatican II.

TWENTIETH CENTURY CATHOLICISM

Neo-Baroque Zeniths: Pius X and *Tra le sollecitudini*

According to Thomas O'Meara, the nineteenth century "began, roughly speaking, with the French Revolution and ended with the First World War."[86] *Tra le sollecitudini* [hereafter TLS], then, stands as a product of nineteenth century Catholicism.[87] Promulgated on November 22, 1903 (the feast of St. Cecilia), TLS was the pinnacle of Pius X's liturgical reforms and written with assistance from Fr. Angelo de Santi, S.J.[88] In the first paragraph, TLS announced itself "a juridical code of sacred music."

> TLS should be considered foundational liturgical legislation concerning music for the Roman Rite until modified by Pius XII's authority and superseded by the reforms stemming from the Vatican Council II. The importance of TLS can be seen in how frequently it is quoted in later papal, conciliar, curial, and territorial bishops' conference texts.[89]

TLS set forth principles for liturgical music and authoritatively canonized a repertoire that accompanied the Catholic Neo-Baroque's final years. It declared plainchant and Palestrina-type polyphony to be the essential core of the Church's musical patrimony.[90]

---

[86] O'Meara, *Romantic Idealism*, 1.

[87] The *motu proprio* is available in various formats. The Vatican website contains Italian and Spanish translations (http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_x/motu_proprio/index.htm). An English version, used in this essay, may be found in Robert F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music, 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1979), 222–31, and at http://www.adoremus.org/MotuProprio.html (accessed 5 March 2008.)

[88] Jan Michael Joncas, *From Sacred Song to Ritual Music: Twentieth-Century Understandings of Roman Catholic Worship Music* (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1997), 1; Ruff, 276n. Joncas claims that TLS was largely de Santi's work.

[89] Ibid., 2.

[90] My use of the words "patrimony," "treasure" and its cognates in this essay is merely out of convenience rather than technical. Ruff traces the development of "musical treasury" in reference to Roman Catholic liturgical music and its explicit use beginning in the twentieth century. (Ruff, 271–381.)

> 3. … Gregorian chant, which is, consequently the chant proper to the Roman Church, the only chant the Church has inherited from the ancient fathers, which it has jealously guarded for centuries in its liturgical codices, which it proposes directly to the faithful, which it prescribes exclusively for some parts of the liturgy, and which the most recent studies have so happily restored to their integrity and purity.
>
> For these reasons Gregorian chant was always considered the supreme model for sacred music, so that it is completely reasonable to lay down the following rule: the more closely a church composition approaches in its movement, inspiration and flavor the Gregorian melody, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes; and the more out of harmony it is with that supreme model, the less worthy it is of the temple. …
>
> 4. The above-mentioned qualities are also possessed to a high degree by classic polyphony, especially of the Roman school, which reached its greatest perfection in the sixteenth century, owing to the works of Pierluigi da Palestrina, and continued subsequently to produce compositions of excellent liturgical and musical quality. Classic polyphony agrees well with Gregorian Chant, the supreme model of all sacred music, and hence it was worthy of a place side by side with Gregorian Chant in the more solemn functions of the Church, such as those of the Pontifical Chapel. This, too, must therefore be restored largely in ecclesiastical functions, especially in the more important basilicas, in cathedrals, and in the churches and chapels of seminaries and other ecclesiastical institutions in which the necessary means are usually not lacking.91

TLS also recognized "modern music" as a third kind of liturgical music. It must model itself on "Gregorian Chant and classic polyphony" but may include instrumental accompaniment, especially the organ. Pius X claims that Gregorian chant is proper to all churches in his patriarchate. More precisely, Gregorian chant is proper to the Roman Rite since other liturgical traditions in the Roman Catholic Church have their own styles of chant (for example, Kievan, Byzantine, Mozarabic, and Ambrosian.)[92]

---

[91] The Vatican website contains TLS in Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish. This is my translation from comparing the Spanish and the Italian versions. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_x/motu_proprio/index.htm accessed June 3, 2009.

[92] Ibid., 13.

TLS intended "to restore the use of the Gregorian chant by the people, so that the faithful may again take a more active part in the ecclesiastical offices, as was the case in ancient times." Twenty-five years later, on December 20, 1928, Pius XI issued *Divini Cultus*, a formal document (bull) exclusively dedicated to music.[93]

> In order that the faithful may more actively participate in divine worship, let them be made once more to sing the Gregorian Chant, so far as it belongs to them to take part in it. It is most important that when the faithful assist at the sacred ceremonies, or when pious sodalities take part with the clergy in a procession, they should not be merely detached and silent spectators, but, filled with a deep sense of the beauty of the Liturgy, they should sing alternately with the clergy or the choir, as it is prescribed. If this is done, then it will no longer happen that the people either make no answer at all to the public prayers -- whether in the language of the Liturgy or in the vernacular -- or at best utter the responses in a low and subdued manner.[94]

Among other things, *Divini Cultus* reiterates that the assembly of the faithful ought to sing the chant. Moreover, one should note the concern that the faithful not be mere spectators but active participants in the liturgy. *De musica sacra et sacra liturgia* [hereafter DMS], issued by the Sacred Congregation of Rites thirty years later during the pontificate of Pius XII (1939–1958), repeats that it is necessary to teach the people their parts of the Ordinary.[95] Only five years later, SC directs that "an edition be prepared

---

[93] The Vatican website (http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xi/bulls/documents/hf_p-xi_bulls_19281220_divini-cultus_it.html, accessed 15 March 2008) makes the document available in Italian. An English version, used in this essay, is available at http://www.adoremus.org/ DiviniCultus.html (accessed 15 March 2008). The site, however, mistakenly identifies DC as an encyclical letter. Bulls were much more formal documents. One characteristic of a bull was its opening greeting in which the pope often referred to himself as *episcopus, servus servorum Dei* (bishop, servant of the servants of God). (http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03052b.htm, accessed 16 March 2008.) Since Paul VI, the bishops of Rome have employed this self-reference more liberally.

[94] Pius XII quotes this same passage in *Mediator Dei*.

[95] DMS (September 3, 1958) is the last liturgical instruction before the decrees of Vatican II. It followed and explicated in more detail the pope's encyclical letter *Musicae sacrae* (December 25, 1955). The encyclical was more theoretical in that it quoted theologians and scripture and established principles. DMS dealt directly with how the

containing simpler melodies, for use in small churches."[96] That three popes had to repeat the same instruction—two within the first quarter of the century and another just after its mid-point—suggests that Rome's efforts to promote congregational plainchant and choral polyphony required some persistence.

Resistance seems partly to have been based on the opinion that plainchant did not contribute to liturgical solemnity. TLS depicts a liturgical atmosphere where the flourishing of concerted music (which many theologians seem to call "operatic style") coincided with the plainchant's falling popularity.

> 3. …The ancient traditional Gregorian Chant must, therefore, in a large measure be restored to the functions of public worship, and the fact must be accepted by all that an ecclesiastical function loses none of its solemnity when accompanied by this music alone.[97]

Mass settings that split up the text of the Ordinary were proscribed by TLS. It was unacceptable to break up the Gloria, for example, into various sections or movements where "each of these movements form a complete composition in itself, and be capable of being detached from the rest and substituted by another."[98] To give a more explicit example of the common practice, the Gloria could have begun by singing Mozart, continued with Haydn at *Qui tollis peccata*, and ended with Vivaldi at *Quoniam tu solus*.

Concerted music, however, was not the only musical interloper. In the USA, immigrants of various cultural groups had their own musical traditions. For example, congregational singing in German and Polish communities amounted to vernacular

---

theology and principles were to be applied. The matter at hand was liturgical music for the Mass and the Divine Office. The document is available on http://www.adoremus.org/1958Intro-sac-mus.html (accessed 3 March 2008) and at http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xii/ encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_25121955_musicae-sacrae_en.html (accessed 4 March 2008).

[96] SC, 117.

[97] TLS.

[98] TLS, 11.a.

hymns even when that practice was forbidden by official documents.[99] The Irish, as a consequence of persecution which forced their Eucharistic celebrations into hiding and silence, thought that to sing during Mass was to render it a Protestant service.[100] Some parishes in San Antonio, as will be discussed later, had their own kind of hymnody and only a smattering of Latin-language music. Generally speaking, therefore, TLS "bore little fruit" in the USA due to a preference for hymnody, concerted music, and private devotions during Mass.[101]

At any rate, TLS preferred Gregorian chant above all other music and other liturgical music was to take it as a model. At Vespers, "[t]he psalms known as *di concerto* are therefore forever excluded and prohibited."[102] Catholics were not accustomed to plainchant either at Mass or at the observance of the canonical hours which primarily seems to have been Vespers. Hence, TLS comments upon and forbids musical practices that probably developed as plainchant became less desirable.

---

[99] Pecklers, 37–38. TLS reads: "7. Latin is the language proper to the Roman Church. Therefore, the singing of anything vernacular during solemn liturgical functions is prohibited, even more so, to sing the variable and common parts of the Mass or the office in the vernacular." *Divini Cultus*, a bull promulgated by Pope Pius XI in 1928, reiterates principles set forth in TLS. It laments: "Tuttavia ci spiace rilevare che quelle sapientissime leggi non sono state applicate dappertutto, e pertanto non sono stati ottenuti i frutti desiderati." A brief description of the German High Mass ("Deutsche Hochamt"), an example of German vernacular singing during the Latin liturgy, can be found in Ruff. (Ruff, 300.)

[100] Ibid., 38.

[101] Ibid., 259, 262–64. Gregorian chant had many supporters in the USA and was highly favored by the Liturgical Movement, which will be discussed later. They favored chant over other types of music because the congregation could be taught to sing it whereas concerted music was not congregational. Therefore, chant was more expressive of communal worship. Some parishes did use chant and monasteries certainly did. The problem the Liturgical Movement encountered in those places was that the Ratisbon editions were difficult to displace in favor of the Solesmes editions which were more solidly based in scholarship. (Pecklers, 264–66.)

[102] TLS, 11.b.

TLS had not succeeded in securing plainchant's favorable reception. *Divini Cultus* explicitly witnesses to this fact and harkens back to TLS, admonishing that

> [i]t is … to be deplored that these most wise laws in some places have not been fully observed, and therefore their intended results not obtained. We know that some have declared these laws, though so solemnly promulgated, were not binding upon their obedience. Others obeyed them at first, but have since come gradually to give countenance to a type of music which should be altogether banned from our churches. In some cases, … the opportunity has been taken of performing in church certain works which, however excellent, should never have been performed there, since they were entirely out of keeping with the sacredness of the place and of the Liturgy.

And with regard to the canonical hours:

> As We have learned that in some places an attempt is being made to reintroduce a type of music which is not entirely in keeping with the performance of the sacred Office, particularly owing to the excessive use made of musical instruments, We hereby declare that singing with orchestra accompaniment is not regarded by the Church as a more perfect form of music or as more suitable for sacred purposes. Voices, rather than instruments, ought to be heard in the church: the voices of the clergy, the choir and the congregation.

These exhortations indicate the problems involved with the restored plainchant's reception process. Other musical styles, highly favored ones, had to be displaced to foster chant. That project, too expansive for Vatican bureaucracy to announce and present on its own, was proclaimed and seemingly supervised by the papacy itself. Consequently, there is reason to suspect that Rome had anticipated resistance to chant restoration.

To promote a very specific repertoire, Pius X made historicist claims on behalf of Gregorian chant and asserted his own authority binding Roman Catholics to the chant's use. TLS bases the chant's inestimable value on its "ancient" and "traditional" properties—it is "the Chant… inherited from the ancient fathers." The document proceeds by declaring that Gregorian chant "has always been regarded as the supreme model for sacred music." On that basis, the papacy "lays down a rule." The assertion

that Gregorian chant enjoyed longstanding repute as a sacred music model seems to be based on its antiquity. *Grove Music Online* states that there was a "steady stream of chant instruction manuals from the Renaissance onwards [attesting to] the vitality of the Church's oldest musical tradition."[103] It is one thing to argue in favor of continuous practice, however, and quite another to deduce from that a premier status. The "continuous practice" argument is difficult to sustain in light of "the reigning topos of the century (by 1880 surely a cliché)" that chant, like many ancient monastic buildings, had to be reconstructed from ruins.[104] Furthermore, the need for "restoration" implies textual disarray as well as widespread disuse—two things which chant enthusiasts sought to remedy.

Pius X's hope of restoring Gregorian chant could not have been possible without the efforts of nineteenth century scholars and musicians who had dedicated themselves to plainchant research and restoration. A preponderance of French churchmen and scholars populate the list: Alexandre Choron (1771–1834), Fr. Louis Lambillotte, S.J. (1794–1855), Joseph d'Ortigue (1802–1866), Dom Joseph Pothier, O.S.B. (1835–1923), Dom André Mocquereau, O.S.B. (1849–1930), and, of course, Dom Prosper Guéranger, O.S.B (1805–1875). There is no need to recite here details of their toil, dedication, personal dynamics, and enormous contribution to chant studies.[105] It is important, however, to

---

[103] ("Roman Catholic Church Music," V.5.ii. The restoration of Gregorian Chant, http://www.grovemusic.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/shared/views/article.html?from=search&session_search_id=3321768&hitnum=4&section=music.46758.5.5 (accessed 14 February 2008).

[104] Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 17.

[105] Besides Pecklers, Bergeron, and Ruff, one might also consult: Cuthbert Johnson, *Prosper Guéranger (1805–1875): A Liturgical Theologian: An Introduction to His Liturgical Writings and Works* (Roma: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1984); Dom Louis Soltner, *Solesmes and Dom Guéranger, 1805–1875,* trans. Joseph O'Connor (Orleans, Mass.: Paraclete Press, 1995); Michael Kwatera, "Marian Feasts in the Roman, Troyes

take notice of a few names so as to point out the theology and politics behind the early phases of the chant revival. Dom Prosper Guéranger stands out from among the other named scholars because he was the founder of Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, the Benedictine monastery that revived Benedictine monasticism in France and dedicated itself to studying and promoting Gregorian chant for the Roman rite. Pothier and Mocquereau, Guèranger's disciples and monks of the same monastery, made their own significant contributions to chant studies and revival.

Guèranger was known as a devoted son of Rome. *New Advent*, an online transcription of *The Catholic Encyclopedia* published in 1913 makes the point clear.

> Being a devout and ardent servant of the Church, Dom Guéranger wished to re-establish more respectful and more filial relations between France and the See of Rome, and his entire life was spent in endeavouring to effect a closer union between the two.[106]

Guèranger's entire ecclesiastical career promoted antiquarian and ultramontane principles. This includes the reconstitution of Solesmes as a Benedictine monastery in 1833.[107] The building had always housed a small monastic community numbering probably no more than a dozen monks. The monastic life that Guèranger strove to develop, however, went beyond what had ever existed in that "undistinguished priory."[108] His interest in Gregorian chant sprang from his determination to live monastic life as it had been lived in some ancient past, much of which was purely in his imagination. Guèranger also worked toward eradicating liturgical practices in France that were at

---

and Paris Missals and Breviaries and the Critique of Dom Prosper Guéranger" (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1993).

[106] http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07058a.htm (accessed 14 February 2008); Bergeron, 10–11.

[107] Bergeron, 13–15.

[108] Ibid., 20.

variance with the Roman rite.[109] He espoused other causes important to the nineteenth century papacy, including papal infallibility and Rome's campaign against Catholic theologians dialoguing with post-Kantian thought (Modernism), a topic discussed earlier. His commitment to reviving Gregorian chant, a treasure of Roman liturgy, was but one piece of his theological outlook.

Solesmes' chant project bore visible fruit when it published books "between 1883 and the end of World War I."[110] A landmark publication, *Liber Usualis* [hereafter Liber], became available in 1896. Brainchild of the young monk, Mocquereau, the Liber intended to develop a larger constituency for the monastery's chant restoration.

> The unique little book combined in a single volume the chants from both the gradual and the antiphoner, together with texts from the missal, for Sundays and the principal feast days of the year. With its manageably small format, the book represented a departure for the Solesmes press.[111]

Monastic books tended to be larger and more expansive in content. The Liber was a deliberate attempt to create something smaller, more manageable, and more marketable to non-monastics, that is, clergy, religious, and laity in parish churches. A revised edition of the Liber appeared in 1903, just in time to meet the Church's (Pius X's) needs.

Customarily, an official liturgical text approved for universal use (a "typical edition") is printed by the Vatican press. The right to print typical editions also may be

---

[109] "It is ironic that Guéranger is considered by some to be the founder of the European liturgical movement. His approach was highly subjective, often leading him to inaccurate liturgical conclusions. While Guéranger was quick to critique French liturgical innovations and dismiss them as lacking in substance, some of those innovations were later incorporated into the liturgical reforms of Pius X and ultimately incorporated into the Roman liturgy itself." Pecklers, 3–4 [citing Louis Bouyer, *Liturgical Piety* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1954), 55.].

[110] *Grove Music Online*, "Plainchant," 11.4 "The reformed editions of Solesmes," http://www.grovemusic.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/shared/views/article.html?from=search&session_search_id=3321768&hitnum=3&section=music.40099.11.4 (accessed 12 February 2008).

[111] Bergeron, 63–64.

granted to another publisher or printer. At the end of the nineteenth century, the privilege of publishing official chant books was awarded to Pustet, a Ratisbon press. When that privileged expired in 1901, Pope Leo XIII (1878–1903) chose not to renew that right. A final decision regarding typical editions for chant books waited until the election of a new pope.[112] The events following Pope Leo's death were a watershed for Solesmes monastery.

Pius X (1903–1914) was elected pope on August 4, 1903, just a few weeks after Leo's death. Three months later, he promulgated TLS, with cooperation from Fr. Angelo de Santi, S.J. De Santi "was one of Mocquereau's strongest supporters in Rome" and was key in forging an alliance between Pius X and Solesmes.[113] That alliance began to materialize when Solesmes participated in an international congress commemorating the thirteenth centenary of St. Gregory the Great's (590–604) death.[114] The congress, organized by de Santi, took place in Rome and consisted of scholarly presentations and liturgical celebrations. The event was designed to draw a parallel between Pius X and St. Gregory—popes who achieved great things for liturgical music. Solesmes presented the pope with a handmade missal produced by Benedictine nuns. The book was beautifully illuminated, medieval in appearance, and featured the monastery's own chant reconstructions. Solesmes' reward was bittersweet. Instead of renewing Pustet's former monopoly over official chant books, Pius X decided that the Vatican itself would publish the chants required by his *motu proprio*.[115] Since the Solesmes editions were already up

---

[112] Ibid., 130.
[113] Bergeron, 130–31. Facts about the conference celebrating Gregory I are taken from Bergeron.
[114] The occasion also commemorated the anniversary of Guido d'Arezzo's visit to Rome in 1028.
[115] Bergeron, 141.

to the task, the monastery was compelled to submit its work (that is, turn its copyright over) to the Vatican's printing press.

The ecclesial circumstances that attended Gregorian chant's restoration were many. They included theological differences (Neoscholasticism versus Modernism), ultramontanism, historicism, disputes between chant scholars and the Vatican, and the politics of publishing rights. Rome and Solesmes believed that Gregorian chant, the treasure and musical complement of Rome's ancient liturgical tradition, was being recovered by scholarship and Solesmes' monastic practice. Gregorian chant epitomized something essentially Catholic, a musical pearl-of-great-price crowning the Church's liturgy. Unfortunately, the kinds of liturgical experiences that informed and fueled Solesmes' interest in liturgy and plainchant "did not translate well into a parish environment."[116] Most of the Church is not a monastery. Yet, the papacy proceeded to make plainchant an obligatory repertoire for all Roman Catholics. The overall principle of congregational participation through singing and chanting was well founded. Policies to secure Gregorian chant's normative status, however, had to confront long-standing practices. In the first place, most Catholics were not accustomed to congregational singing at Mass. Going to Mass occasioned private prayers. And, insofar as there was music at Mass, styles other than plainchant seem to have been more popular. Cultivating a favored position for Gregorian chant required the Vatican's vigilance.

Mediator Dei: Theology of Participation/Seeds of Change

"Many Catholics are accustomed to thinking that the liturgical reforms of recent history began with Vatican II."[117] In actuality, most scholars credit Lambert Beauduin, O.S.B., with initiating the Liturgical Movement during an address he gave on September

[116] Ferrone, 6.
[117] Ibid., 11.

23, 1909.[118] Although Beauduin was a vigorous promoter of liturgical reform, he always was circumspect about using that term for fear of arousing negative reaction from the Church hierarchy. Careful use of terminology acknowledged that only Rome could institute reform. A movement, however, paved the way for reform through education, research, and Christian living. "Beauduin's desire in founding the Liturgical Movement, was, to put it simply, to assist the people in living out their baptism through worship and social action."[119] The Liturgical Movement spread throughout Europe and the Americas in the twentieth century's opening decades.

The Liturgical Movement, more so in the USA than in Europe, had a strong pastoral orientation.[120] The movement considered its goals in continuity with ancient Christianity. Its purpose was to recapture a sense that believers participated in a common mission turned over to them by Christ himself and that baptism commissioned each Christian to contribute toward the community's project. Virgil Michel, O.S.B., foremost leader of the movement in the USA, defended his vision against critics by saying that

> …the Liturgical Movement is not primarily a movement to restore more artistic vestments and church utensils, or to promote better-looking church buildings, or even a more artistic rendering of melody at church services. … Keen observers see in the Liturgical Movement of today the most hopeful sign for that renewal of Catholic Christian spirit and influence…[121]

The movement sought to reestablish liturgical action as a foundation of Christian faith and responsible Christian living. Myopic and defensive concerns over a number of issues

---

[118] Pecklers, 12; Ferrone, 7; Ruff, 194.
[119] Pecklers, 14 [citing Bernard Botte, *Le mouvement liturgique. Témoignages et souvenirs* (Paris: Desclée, 1973), 32.]. Pecklers effectively demonstrates the American liturgical movement's affinity with lay Catholic social movements, the most prominent name being Catholic Worker founded by Dorothy Day.
[120] Ibid., 43.
[121] "The Liturgical Movement," *Ecclesiastical Review* 78 (1928): 139, 141 (cited by Pecklers, 45).

surrounding the Mass (transubstantiation, the mechanics of grace, rubrics, etc.) had overshadowed the liturgy's fundamental role in Christian formation.

Official declarations of liturgical reform began with Pius XII in the 1950s but went largely unnoticed by many Catholics because the rite of the Mass was not affected. By that point the Liturgical Movement's efforts had borne much fruit. For nearly fifty years, many Catholics (bishops, scholars, pastors, laity, and religious) had been openly discussing and considering liturgical reform. The pope formed the Pian commission, an organization that served from 1948 until 1960, to study and advise him about liturgical reform. Among those who served on that commission was Monsignor Giovanni Battista Montini, who later would be elected Paul VI. The greatest liturgical reforms that took place before Vatican II were the revision of the Paschal (Easter) Vigil in 1951 and Holy Week in 1955.[122]

In *Mediator Dei* (1947), Pius XII upholds the Gregorian repertory quoting TLS and its successor, *Divini Cultus*. But, unlike those documents, sacred music is not *Mediator Dei*'s main topic.[123] Pius X, before the Liturgical Movement had gained momentum, contended that Gregorian chant would help the faithful "take a more active part" in the liturgy.[124] Pius XII, in the midst of considerations about liturgical renewal, explores the meaning behind participation. In the process of attending to other matters, *Mediator Dei* makes clear that the sung repertory's (plainchant or any other music) value lies in its capacity to promote the assembly's participation.

---

[122] There were some who opposed any kind of change. Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York, for example, refused to implement changes to the Easter Vigil in 1951. He was compelled to do so by the pope. (Ferrone, 112, fn. 26.) At Vatican II, Spellman continued to speak against liturgical revisions and greater use of the vernacular.
[123] The document is available at http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xii/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_20111947_mediator-dei_en.html (accessed 10 March 2008).
[124] TLS, no. 3.

Mediator Dei is a sequel to the pope's previous encyclical, *Mystici Corporis Christi* (1943), a theological reflection on the mystery of the Church obviously influenced by the Liturgical Movement.[125] These documents discussed the Church and the celebration of the Eucharist in theological language that reached into the Church's ancient traditions. Specifically, the Church and the Eucharist are expressions of the selfsame reality "where the Church recognizes itself as the living body of Christ."[126] One cannot exist without the other. Pius XII acknowledged and affirmed scholarly research which had made the Roman rite's history "better known, understood, and appreciated".[127] In the midst of "renewed interest in the sacred liturgy,"[128] and the recognition that the Church's faith and worship are organically related, he advanced the Church's Eucharistic theology by appealing to scripture and tradition.

---

[125] Promoting the theology of the Church as the mystical body of Christ, and "full and active participation" of the congregation can be traced to Beauduin. (Pecklers, 10–12). See also Markey, 27–52; Archbishop Piero Marini, ed. Mark R. Francis, C.S.V., and others, *A Challenging Reform: Realizing the Vision of the Liturgical Renewal* (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 2007), xv.

[126] Pecklers, 25. Biblical authority comes from sources such as the Apostle Paul: "Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread" (1 Corinthians 10:17) and "Now you are the body of Christ and individually members of it" (Ibid., 12:27). St. Augustine of Hippo, Western Christianity's preeminent authority from late-antiquity, says about the Eucharist: "Be what you see; receive what you are. This is what Paul is saying about the bread. So too, what we are to understand about the cup is similar and requires little explanation" (*Sermon 372*. The Latin text is contained in J.-P. Ligne, *Patrologia Latina* 38:1246–48. A translation of the sermon is found at http://liturgy.nd.edu/assembly/assembly23-2augustine.shtml (accessed June 8, 2009). A brief commentary by William Harmless is in *Augustine and the Catechumenate*, Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1995, 316–24. At the end of the twentieth century, Roman Catholic and Orthodox theologians began contemplating and dialoguing about the "Church as communion," and "the Church as the sacrament of communion for the world" (Markey, 170–184). Also John Zizioulas, *Being as Communion*, Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985; and J-M. R. Tillard, O.P., *Church of Churches: The Ecclesiology of Communion* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1992).

[127] *Mediator Dei*, 5.

[128] *Mystici Corporis Christi*, 8.

Mediator Dei, examining the nature of liturgical participation, insists that the congregation is not passive. The priest and the people play different roles in the Mass; all are participants. Understanding *Mediator Dei*'s theology is key to grasping what congregational participation means and why it becomes increasingly important in the latter twentieth century. Plainchant and polyphonic music, although highly esteemed, are predicated upon the people's participation. As theological reflection brought clarity to the import of participation, the liturgical role of music came better into focus. Furthermore, "active participation" became a critical theological concept and gained greater currency over the course of the twentieth century.

Because worship is an exterior (sitting, kneeling, standing) as well as an interior (prayer, recollection, meditation) activity, participation is not based solely on the physical appearance of activity.[129] In other words, one may participate actively in the Mass by sitting in silent prayer as much as by singing. After all, "the chief element of divine worship must be interior" because a person's intentions are requisite to rendering God praise, sacrifice, and to receiving grace.[130] To give a deeper account, *Mediator Dei* carefully recites the Church's faith regarding the sacramental priesthood, the benefits bestowed on the world by the celebration of the Mass, and the laity's part in that act.

Even though the minister celebrating the Mass is called a "priest," there really is only one priest, namely, Jesus Christ. [131] He is both Priest (the Offeror) and Victim (the Offering) because the cross is a self-sacrifice.[132] The celebrant, "by reason of the sacerdotal consecration he has received," acts in the person of Christ who commanded the celebration of the Holy Eucharist.[133]

---

[129] *Mediator Dei*, 23.
[130] Ibid., 24, 25, 31, 32, 86.
[131] Ibid., 67.
[132] Ibid., 68, 70, 81.
[133] Ibid., 66–69.

> The august sacrifice of the altar, then, is no mere empty commemoration of the passion and death of Jesus Christ, but a true and proper act of sacrifice, whereby the High Priest [Jesus Christ] by an unbloody immolation offers Himself a most acceptable victim to the Eternal Father as He did upon the cross. "It is one and the same victim; the same person now offers it by the ministry of His priests, who then offered Himself on the cross, the manner of offering alone being different."[quoting from the Council of Trent, Session 22, ch. 2][134]

After further theological considerations, *Mediator Dei* concludes that

> [t]he august sacrifice of the altar is, as it were, the supreme instrument whereby the merits won by the divine Redeemer upon the cross are distributed to the faithful…
>
> 80. It is, therefore, desirable, Venerable Brethren, that all the faithful should be aware that to participate in the eucharistic sacrifice is their chief duty and supreme dignity, and that not in an inert and negligent fashion, giving way to distractions and day-dreaming, but with such earnestness and concentration…[135]

By their participation the faithful themselves "do offer the divine Victim"[136] although not in the same way as the priest.[137] Members of the Church offer sacrifice by the fact that the priest's prayers acknowledge that the "oblation is made by the priests in company with the people."[138] Furthermore, the people attend with the intention of offering sacrifice[139] and, historically, they were the ones who presented bread and wine used at the Mass.[140] And, finally, the people interiorly perfect their offering by "the offering of themselves as a victim"[141]

> 99. …especially when the faithful take part in the liturgical service with such piety and recollection that it can truly be said of them: "whose faith and devotion is known to Thee," [quoting the Roman Canon from the Roman Missal] it is then,

---

[134] Ibid., 68.
[135] Ibid., 79, 80.
[136] Ibid., 85.
[137] Ibid., 82.
[138] Ibid., 87.
[139] Ibid., 86.
[140] Ibid., 90.
[141] Ibid., 98.

> with the High Priest and through Him that they offer themselves as a spiritual sacrifice, that each one's faith ought to become more ready to work through charity, his piety more real and fervent, and each one should consecrate himself to the furthering of the divine glory, desiring to become as like as possible to Christ in His most grievous sufferings.[142]

It should be recalled that both TLS and *Mediator Dei* seek to promote the laity's "more active" participation through singing parts of the Mass using Gregorian chant. Participation as defined in *Mediator Dei* clearly means that the congregation sings in virtue of its priestly role. The people's involvement reaches full expression by singing at Mass rather than by listening to a choir sing or sitting quietly. *Mediator Dei* maintains that congregational participation is essential during the liturgy and it gave hope to those seeking to revise the paradigm that the priest "saying" or "singing" Mass was more important than those who merely "heard" Mass.

Even as *Mediator Dei* defines and promotes congregational participation, the text contains a preponderance of interior modes of participation. Consequently, the encyclical sustained Neo-Baroque theology and spirituality. A congregation was not necessary for the celebration of the Mass (no. 95). People could and ought to be encouraged to pray privately (the rosary, novenas, devotional prayers) during Mass, especially if they did not understand even printed explanations of the rite (nos. 32 and 108). It was not expected that the people would receive communion during the Mass and reception certainly was not a requirement except for the priest (nos. 112–115). Nevertheless, the faithful were exhorted to receive communion "fervently and frequently" at Mass (nos. 116–121); it was a common and acceptable practice for people to partake at times other than the time appointed for communion during Mass (no. 122).[143]

---

[142] Ibid., 99.

[143] Pius X began encouraging frequent communion in *Sacra Tridentina Synodus* (1905) but distributing communion during the Mass was considered disruptive of the service. (Ferrone, 3; Pecklers, 52-54.)

Unlike TLS, *Mediator Dei* no longer recognizes detractors of Gregorian chant's contribution to liturgical solemnity.[144] Rather, Pius XII positively states, presupposing that it now is or ought to be commonly accepted, that "[Gregorian chant] makes the celebration of the sacred mysteries not only more dignified and solemn but helps very much to increase the faith and devotion of the congregation."[145] In light of the distinction between interior and exterior participation, singing plainchant activates exterior participation which is desirable when the ritual calls for congregational responses and acclamations. The encyclical, quoting TLS, advances plainchant as something to be "restored to popular use" because it engages the people. *Mediator Dei* continues to promote Gregorian chant as a model for liturgical music while it presents theological arguments about the nature and value of congregational participation. The underlying presupposition is that Gregorian chant and participation are compatible in every congregation—that the former enables the latter. As the Liturgical Movement focused increasingly on "active participation," confidence that Gregorian chant could serve to promote participation diminished.

By appearances, one could have concluded in the era before the Second Vatican Council that because congregational presence was not required for the celebration of the Mass, people's actions were immaterial when they were in attendance. Congregants engaged principally in silent and private activities: devotions, prayers, listening and observing while the sacred ministers (those serving at the altar) conducted their activities at the altar. *Mediator Dei* clarifies that the assembly does and must participate. The events signified and memorialized at the Mass go to the very heart of what it means to be Church. The Church's members participate according to their station in the Church. In

---

[144] There is only one reference to polyphony in *Mediator Dei* (62) that certifies it an appropriate genre for liturgical music.
[145] *Mediator Dei*, 191.

the larger scheme of things, singing is accidental (in the sense that it is not essential) because, as we shall see, chanting was not always integral to Eucharistic celebration.

De Musica Sacra: Clarifying Musicae Sacrae

PERFECTING PARTICIPATION

Nearly eight years after *Mediator Dei*, on December 25, 1955, Pius XII promulgated the encyclical letter, *Musicae Sacrae*. On September 3, 1958, the Sacred Congregation for Rites followed with an instruction, *De Musica Sacra* (DMS), to provide guidance toward *Musicae Sacrae*'s implementation. DMS encapsulates *Tra le sollecitudini*, *Divini Cultus*, and the recent encyclical of 1955 in that it summarizes essential points and prescribes practical applications. DMS also provides clear information about categories of Masses celebrated before Vatican II reforms and the kinds of expectations placed upon the congregation during these services. Different types of music were appropriate according to the type of Mass being celebrated. But, insofar as there was a congregation, active participation always was required. In accord with the teaching of *Mediator Dei*, DMS states that the faithful participate actively in a threefold manner: 1) by their interior disposition (prayerful attentiveness); 2) by their exterior disposition (through somatic expressions of piety—kneeling, standing, making the sign of the cross, and vocal responses which could include singing); and 3) through the reception of communion.[146]

The manner in which the faithful engaged vocally depended on the kind of Mass being celebrated. There were two kinds of Masses: sung Mass (*Missa in cantu*) and read Mass (*Missa lecta*).[147] Sung Mass was either: a) Solemn [High] if there was a deacon

[146] DMS, 22–32. The reception of communion still was not common but held up as an activity that ought to be promoted. (DMS. 22.c, 27.c.)
[147] Ibid., 3, 14.

and sub-deacon assisting the priest and singing parts proper to them; or b) high if the priest celebrated alone and sang all the parts. *In cantu* or *lecta* (often called "low") were designations dependent upon the activity of the sacred ministers; they either sang or they did not. The congregation, however, was always permitted to sing. They were to sing at high Mass and they could even perform vernacular hymns during a low Mass provided the music was "chosen appropriately for the respective parts of the Mass."[148]

The sacred ministers were permitted to use only Latin in liturgical services.[149] At certain points of the Mass, the priest addressed the people and they were to respond in Latin "holding a sort of dialogue with him."[150] Exceptions to this language requirement were possible but highly unusual.[151] For example, the Holy See granted permission for use of the vernacular in some locales.[152]

Promoting the people's participation, regardless of whether Mass was sung or low, was of utmost concern. "Interior participation is the most important" but exterior participation, "especially responses, prayers, and singing," perfects (completes) congregational involvement.[153] The instruction enumerates "degrees of participation" for both types of Masses as shown on Table 1. The two lists are substantially the same. *Laus tibi Domine*, *Kyrie*, and *Paternoster* notwithstanding, they differ only in that the congregants either are to sing or speak the texts.

The texts listing "degrees of participation" are significant because they signal the convergence of two values—exterior participation and Gregorian chant—and the struggle

---

[148] Ibid., 30. Depending on the season, the organ could play at certain points during low Mass.
[149] Ibid., 13.1.
[150] Ibid., 31.
[151] Ibid., 13.a.; TLS, 7.
[152] Ibid., 13.c.
[153] Ibid., 22.

to establish each as common practice. Essentially, the list ranks the Ordinary of the Mass for a pedagogical purpose. It accompanies a mandate to ecclesiastical leaders and institutions (bishops, religious superiors, seminaries, choir directors, parish priests, Catholic schools of all levels) to instruct the faithful in speaking and singing their parts.[154] That the two lists are nearly the same makes it apparent that the more significant matter in DMS is not Gregorian chant but what chanting the *text* represents at sung Mass, namely, exterior participation. Furthermore, that popular vernacular hymns or prayers were acceptable at prescribed times during low Mass indicates that chant was sometimes optional.

[154] Ibid., 97, 104–117.

Table 1

HIGH MASS	LOW MASS
25. In solemn [and high] Mass there are three degrees of participation of the faithful:	31. … There are four degrees or stages of this [congregational] participation:
a) First, the congregation can **sing** the liturgical responses. These are: *Amen* *Et cum spiritu tuo* *Gloria tibi, Domine* *Habemus ad Dominum* *Dignum et justum est* *Sed libera nos a malo* *Deo gratias*. Every effort must be made that the faithful of the entire world learn to sing these responses.	a) First, the congregation **may make the easier liturgical responses** to the prayers of the priest: *Amen* *Et cum spiritu tuo* *Gloria tibi Domine* *Laus tibi, Christi* *Habemus ad Dominum* *Dignum et justum est* *Sed libera nos a malo;* *Deo gratias**
	b) Secondly, the congregation may also **say** prayers, which, according to the rubrics, are said by the server, including the *Confiteor*, and the triple *Domine non sum dignus* before the faithful receive Holy Communion;
b) Secondly, the congregation can **sing** the parts of the Ordinary of the Mass: *Kyrie, eleison* *Gloria in excelsis Deo* *Credo* *Sanctus-Benedictus*	c) Thirdly, the congregation may **say aloud** with the celebrant parts of the Ordinary of the Mass: *Gloria in excelsis Deo* *Credo* *Sanctus-Benedictus*

*The text presents these items in a different order. They are reordered here for ease of comparison.

[32. Since the *Pater Noster* is a fitting, and ancient prayer of preparation for Communion, the entire congregation may **recite** this prayer in unison with the priest in low Masses; the Amen at the end is to be said by all. This is to be done only in Latin, never in the vernacular.]

Agnus Dei.

…

Agnus Dei

c) Thirdly, if those present are well trained in Gregorian chant, they can **sing** the parts of the Proper of the Mass. This form of participation should be carried out particularly in religious congregations and seminaries.

d) Fourthly, the congregation may also **recite** with the priest parts of the Proper of the Mass: Introit, Gradual, Offertory, Communion. Only more advanced groups who have been well trained will be able to participate with becoming dignity in this manner.

MUSICAL TAXONOMY

De Musica Sacra identifies musical genres appropriate to the Mass and gives plainchant first place in the musical hierarchy. Polyphony is still considered important but Palestrina no longer is mentioned by name.

> 4. "Sacred music" includes the following: a) Gregorian chant; b) sacred polyphony; c) modern sacred music; d) sacred organ music; e) hymns; and f) religious music.[155]

This list began to expand with Pius XI who included remarks about the organ as the "traditionally appropriate musical instrument of the Church."[156] Both TLS and *Divini Cultus* mention modern music and caution that its use in the liturgy must be judicious.[157] These references however, are different in that one speaks to choral music (TLS) and the other to the organ (*Divini Cultus*). *Musicae Sacrae* makes no reference to modern music except to recognize that "modern composers" have modeled polyphonic choral works on older ones where, presumably, Palestrina is the exemplar.[158]

In TLS (10, 11) and *Divini Cultus*, "hymns" appear to be plainchant texts and melodies that cannot be categorized as specific parts (either of the Mass or from the canonical hours) of the ordinary or proper. "Religious music" (36, 70), "religious hymns" (37, 62, 65), "religious singing" (66, 70), and "religious song" (71) had not appeared in TLS, *Divini Cultus*. They are first mentioned in *Musicae Sacrae* and are not defined in the text. A clear distinction is made between "hymns" and "religious music." On the one hand,

---

[155] Ibid., 4.
[156] *Divini Cultus*.
[157] TLS, 5.
[158] *Musicae Sacrae*, 54.

> [h]ymns are songs which spontaneously arise from the religious impulses with which mankind has been endowed by its Creator. Thus they are universally sung among all peoples. … Even such music can, at times, be admitted to liturgical ceremonies.[159]

And, on the other hand,

> [r]eligious music is any music which, either by the intention of the composer or by the subject or purpose of the composition, serves to arouse devotion, and religious sentiments. … But since it was not intended for divine worship, and was composed in a free style, it is not to be used during liturgical ceremonies.[160]

Since no specific examples are presented, it is difficult to identify precisely the repertoire to which these texts refer. What is clear, however, is that "sacred" and "liturgical" music are not synonymous. All liturgical music is sacred but not all sacred music is liturgical and, therefore, appropriate for liturgical events.

A Parochial Close Up: Liturgical Music on the Cusp

BACKGROUND AND METHOD

To date, there are no studies systematically assessing the state of Roman Catholic liturgical music in pre-Vatican II America. As I have suggested, however, all was not well in many places. It appears unlikely that Masses everywhere were booming with Gregorian chant, choral polyphony, and the laity's "exterior participation." The musical repertory found in *De Musica Sacra* cannot be interpreted as evidence that Roman Catholic liturgical music flourished in the early twentieth century up until the Second Vatican Council. If anything, DMS presents a wish list and suggests that the degree to which the Church's "ancient musical tradition" actually flourished, if at all, varied to from place to place.

---

[159] DMS, 9.
[160] Ibid., 10.

A case study of two parishes in the Archdiocese of San Antonio, the only metropolitan see in Texas until very recently, serves to exemplify how DMS applied in parochial settings.[161] The two parishes under consideration, located within two miles of each other, are Immaculate Conception (hereafter, "ICC") and St. Timothy.

Two types of sources provide information about music at ICC and St. Timothy: archival and oral interviews. My original intent was to focus on St. Timothy. Its parish bulletins, however, were lost a few years ago—an unfortunate situation since bulletins are most often the largest single source of information outside of sacramental records. Archival records from ICC serve to complement and enhance information gathered from oral interviews and vice versa. Printed information comes from parish bulletins at ICC between January 1958 and January 1971, the period between DMS and the dedication of a new church building at St. Timothy which marked a new era for the parish. Oral interviews come from parishioners at St. Timothy. In order to make sense of how ICC and St. Timothy construed and implemented DMS, data must been considered in the context of the Archdiocese of San Antonio. Therefore, I shall examine how The Most Reverend Robert E. Lucey, Archbishop of San Antonio from 1941 to 1968, and the Archdiocese of San Antonio responded to DMS.

---

[161] The Holy See groups together neighboring dioceses into an ecclesiastical province over which one bishop, the Metropolitan, presides and exercises certain privileges. Recent Roman Catholic usage often styles him "archbishop" and his see is called an "archdiocese" or the metropolitan see. Among his privileges are a vestment called the pallium, and convoking and presiding at gatherings of other bishops (suffragans) within his province. These assemblies are to promote cooperation in matters of mutual interest. The Metropolitan has very limited canonical rights and obligations with respect to his suffragan dioceses. (*The Code of Canon Law* (Washington, D.C.: Canon Law Society of America, 1983), Canons 431–438.) On December 29, 2004, the diocese of Galveston-Houston became an archdiocese, the second metropolitan see in Texas, when it was proclaimed so by Pope John Paul II.

In terms of the universal Church, it is helpful to recall that Pius XII died on October 9, 1958, a month after DMS appeared. John XXIII was elected pope several weeks later (October 28). On January 25, 1959, the new pope announced that he would convene an Ecumenical Council at the Vatican.

ST. TIMOTHY AND ICC

The history and dates of foundation for ICC and St. Timothy differ significantly (ICC in 1933 and St. Timothy in 1953) but both served Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants commonly termed "economically disadvantaged." In general, prior to the 1960s, many people in this part of San Antonio barely possessed what would now be called a basic education. This neighborhood was home to many immigrants from Mexico who did not speak English. Even if they did, it was quite likely that Spanish would have been their dominant language. Spanish-language dominance also may have been the case for their children born in the USA. Illiteracy was not uncommon. It is important to keep these factors in mind when considering the pastoral challenges facing clergy and religious as they attempted to teach the faithful to sing and respond verbally in yet a third language, Latin.

Many parallels may be drawn between the ICC and St. Timothy based on their close proximity and shared ethnic/cultural composition. It is no accident that by the mid-1970s, ICC and St. Timothy had joined four neighboring parishes to form a "Six Parish Coalition."[162] This organization pooled all manner of resources to further their common good. No such cooperation existed between them before the 1970s. They joined forces because parochial needs and pastoral duties were substantially similar between the six

[162] *Today's Catholic* (Archdiocese of San Antonio), 4 April 1975. The other four parishes in the coalition were St. Alphonsus, Our Lady of San Juan de los Lagos, Our Lady of Guadalupe, and St. Stephen.

sites, two of which provide the focus for this study. On this basis, it seems reasonable that information from one parish may be used to make inferences about the other.

APPLYING *DE MUSICA SACRA* IN SAN ANTONIO

Responding to DMS, Archbishop Lucey, circulated a letter to parochial clergy in late February 1959 concerning "lay participation in a read Mass."[163] The pastor of each parish was to ensure that at low Mass members of his parish could respond in Latin with proper pronunciation. And, if he was unable to project his voice through the church so as to be heard, the priest was to install a sound system in the church. Presumably, the parish priest was to begin work on this project immediately so as to comply with the following timetable:

Target Date	Congregation should:
May 1, 1959	make liturgical responses identified in paragraph 31.a of *De musica sacra* [The "first degree of participation."][164]
October 1, 1959	recite the Kyrie, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei, and Pater noster [All but the Kyrie and Pater noster are from the 'third degree of participation"]
May 1, 1960	recite the prayers at the foot of the altar and the *Suscipiat* [From the "second degree of participation"]
October 1, 1960	recite the Gloria and Credo [From the "third degree of participation"]

[163] Letter To All Pastors, 27 February 1959, 38 Folder no. 2, Catholic Archives at San Antonio (hereinafter, CASA). Archdiocesan documents prefer "read" over "low" Mass. "Read" and "low" are used synonymously in this essay; "sung" and "high" Mass are synonymous for *Missa in cantu*.

[164] Degrees of participation for read/low Mass, as identified in DMS, are presented on Table 1.

Because DMS included a special directive to Catholic schools (colleges and universities included), Archbishop Lucey addressed a separate letter to these institutions.[165] No timetable accompanied this letter possibly because the expectations were significantly higher. In addition to teaching students appropriate responses for low Mass, schools were entrusted with teaching the chants for high Mass as outlined in paragraph 25 of DMS. The Archbishop encouraged schools to train young men to become leaders and lectors at low Mass. Since girls and women could not aspire to liturgical leadership at a parish, a group of them could be trained to stand as a group and lead together in a school setting.

Despite the title and general orientation of DMS, Archbishop Lucey's directive to the parochial clergy made no reference to music. Instead, his letter focused exclusively on teaching the laity how to respond to the priest during a read Mass. Sung Mass with its attendant sung responses received no attention. The goals set for low Mass, however, were seen as a step moving toward singing at high Mass.[166] In the meantime, the Archdiocesan Liturgical and Musical Commission recommended that singing vernacular hymns at low Mass might serve to encourage and prepare the faithful to sing at high Mass.

Most likely, focus on spoken responses at read Mass rather than on music and sung responses at sung Mass indicates the Liturgical Movement's late arrival in San Antonio rather than any prejudice against music.[167] Or, rather, DMS was interpreted as

---

[165] Letter to College Deans, High School Principals, and Private Elementary Schools, 19 March 1959, Ibid.

[166] Minutes of the Joint Meeting of the Archdiocesan Liturgical and Musical Commissions, 5 October 1960, Ibid.

[167] Pecklers contends that the American Liturgical Movement was most successful in areas where there was a sizeable German Catholic community (for example, throughout the Midwest and St. John's Abbey in Minnesota). The movement was virtually unknown or less successful in places that were mostly Irish (coastal cities such as New York,

universal permission to apply one of the movement's liturgical "experiments." In the 1920s and 1930s, congregational modes of participation already were the topic of discussion. *Orate Fratres*, the Liturgical Movement's premier journal in the USA, considered three types of participation.[168] In one type, the *Missa recitata* ("dialog Mass"),

> the Mass prayers were said aloud alternately by a leader and the whole congregation. It was also possible to do the same, alternating with the congregation divided into two groups. The ideal dialog Mass was described as an alternation between the one presiding [the priest] and the assembly, with everyone answering together as a group and, perhaps, reciting some prayers together with the priest. Permission of the local bishop was required.[169]

Archbishop Lucey's letter of February 1959 described precisely what *Orate Fratres* calls an "ideal dialog Mass." Further, the letter gives no indication that he previously had approved use of the *Missa recitata* within his jurisdiction. Since the faithful of the Archdiocese were not accustomed to responding in any way whatsoever, it seems reasonable to call spoken responses and vernacular hymns stepping stones toward chanting at high Mass.

Archbishop Lucey's answer to DMS was but one effort in the direction of improving congregational participation at Mass. Even before the first session of the Second Vatican Council, the clergy of the Archdiocese of San Antonio were consulting and exploring the possibility of creating vernacular translations of the Mass and other sacramental rituals. More to the point, the clergy actively sought to use the vernacular at low Mass. Between late February and March 1962, Archbishop Lucey exchanged several

---

Boston, Los Angeles, San Francisco) or not German. (Pecklers, 283.) Because San Antonio had a sizeable population of German Catholics in the late 1800s, it would be worthwhile investigating if indeed there were any manifestations of the Liturgical Movement in San Antonio before 1958.

[168] Pecklers, 54–58.

[169] Ibid., 55.

letters with the head of his liturgical commission, Monsignor James Boyle.[170] It came to Monsignor Boyle's attention that for over 30 years, congregations in Argentina had been making responses in Spanish during low Mass—the Ordinary, Confiteor, Pater Noster, and Domine non sum dignus—without official sanction for this practice.[171] The Argentine episcopate now sought Roman approval in addition for leave to produce a Spanish translation of the Roman ritual. Archbishop Lucey and his liturgical commission had already begun work on such a translation. They decided to follow the activities of the Argentine episcopate and to procure whatever texts they could to inform their own work. Better yet, perhaps they could gain approval for using those texts in the Archdiocese once the Vatican had approved them for Argentina.

Thus, Archbishop Lucey actively prepared to solicit permission allowing Spanish during low Mass. In early August 1962, Lucey's auxiliary bishop (Steven Leven) reported that the bishops of Paraguay secured permission from Rome allowing "use of the common tongue in read Masses, by the faithful only," in other words, the priest was to speak his parts in Latin.[172] Bishop Leven suggested that "[i]t would certainly facilitate the understanding of our good people of the Mass if they could say [their parts] in English." Although his suggestions did not include Spanish, it is possible that his suggestion implied seeking permission to employ it also since it was commonly spoken in the Archdiocese.

---

[170] Letter to The Most Reverend Robert E. Lucey from The Right Reverend James M. Boyle, 23 February 1962, CASA; Letter to The Right Reverend James M. Boyle from The Most Reverend Robert E. Lucey, 26 February 1962, CASA; Letter to The Most Reverend Robert E. Lucey from The Right Reverend James M. Boyle, 13 March 1962, CASA.

[171] Monsignor Boyle cites *Worship* April 1961: 310 as his source.

[172] Memorandum to The Archbishop from Bishop Leven, 1 August 1962, CASA. DMS did acknowledged the possibility of vernacular use but it was granted on a case-by-case basis. Even then, the translation had to be word-for-word from the Latin. (DMS, 13.)

Music was not foremost in the minds of diocesan leaders. At least as a first phase, congregational participation meant eliciting spoken responses at low Mass. The faithful eventually were to sing the Ordinary of the Mass (plainchant) but vernacular hymns were understood as preparation for that repertory. The ability to sing the Propers seemed remote and any hope for congregational execution of those parts was delivered over to educational institutions or relegated to some kind of special parochial program.

AT THE PARISHES

ICC's bulletins never refer directly to Archbishop Lucey's letter of February 1959. The only entry easily linking the pastor's attempt to comply with the Archbishop's injunction dates from June 26, 1960, at which point parishioners were encouraged to respond in dialogue to the priest (with Amen; Et cum spiritu tuo; Habemus ad Dominum, for example) at low Mass.[173] The announcement in the parish bulletin indicates that during the previous Lenten season during the spring of 1960, the congregation had been coached to make these Latin responses. By this point, however, the timetable set by Archbishop Lucey required the faithful to recite all the Ordinary (except the Credo and the Gloria) as well as the other liturgical responses in dialogue with the priest. Apparently, the pastor's efforts even on this reduced scale had limited success: "it all seems to have been in vain… Don't lose your courage if it is hard and difficult, do your best and try to answer all the prayers." Booklets had been made available and the people were encouraged to sit up front, close to the altar, possibly because it would have been difficult to hear the priest otherwise. Their attempts to respond were characterized as signs of love, gratitude, and devotion.

When asked about Mass participation before the mid-1960s, every person interviewed responded by saying that his or her principal experience of Mass was sitting

[173] *Parish Bulletin*, Third Sunday after Pentecost, VII no. 25.

silently and prayerfully in the pew with little or no understanding about what was occurring at the altar.[174] One woman religious interviewed and of Mexican American heritage herself, Sister Angela Erevia, MCDP (Missionary Catechists of Divine Providence), concurred that practically no one at St. Timothy understood or felt comfortable enough with Latin to make responses. The faithful were encouraged to pray as they sat at Mass. Talking, apparent inattentiveness to private prayer, or other behavior deemed as inappropriate was subject to correction, most often by women religious. At times, Spanish hymns were sung at low Mass but several informants had poor recollection about singing or music. None of the persons interviewed had themselves been members of the choir before the 1970s. Two exceptions to this were the women religious: Sister Angela and Sister Gabriel Ann Tamayo, MCDP.

Although Sr. Gabriel Ann never attended or served at St. Timothy, other sisters in her community did (including Sr. Angela) between 1955 and 1971.[175] Both Sr. Gabriel Ann and Sr. Angela report that the MCDPs received a liberal arts education at Our Lady

---

[174] Sister Gabriel Ann Tamayo, MCDP, interview by author, 6 September 2006, and San Antonio, Tx., 28 October 2006; Sister Angela Erevia, MCDP, interview by author, 12 September 2006; Ruth Guerrero, interview by author, 12 September 2006; Alicia Soriano, interview by author, 14 September 2006; Nelda Rodriguez, interview by author, 25 September 2006; Dolores Oropeza, interview by author, 21 November 2006; Gabriel Gonzales, interviewed by author, 13 December 2006; Josie Vidales, interviewed by the author, 3 April 2008; Adela Castellano, interviewed by author, 1 June 2008. Ruth Guerrero did not attend St. Timothy during the 1960s but she grew up at Our Lady of Guadalupe, a parish that later became a member of the Six Parish Coalition. As an interesting aside, men and women did not sit together in church—men sat on one side of the nave and women on the other. This probably intended to limit unseemly behavior and distractions.

[175] "Missionary Catechists of Divine Providence Worked at St. Timothy's Parish, San Antonio, TX," report provided by the Archives of the Missionary Catechists of Divine Providence, 20 September 2006.

of the Lake College (now University) in San Antonio.[176] Part of that preparation included keyboard studies and the ability to sing two Mass settings: the Requiem and Mass of the Angels (*De Angelis*, Mass VIII from the Roman Gradual). These settings were included in the *St. Gregory Hymnal*, the only book that Sr. Gabriel Ann, an organist, ever required for providing music at sung Mass.[177] As a general rule, at least two sisters were assigned to serve a parish. Playing the organ and singing at high Mass numbered among their duties. They also taught children as much as possible to sing at high Mass. Both sisters recall that Spanish hymns were sung at low Mass although English also was possible.

One member from St. Timothy, Ruth Guerrero, began attending that parish in 1968, having grown up in one of the neighboring parishes, Our Lady of Guadalupe. Ruth recalls the titles of various hymns that were sung by the people during low Mass. They belonged to a genre that the community referred to as *alabanzas* (praises).[178] Some titles from this body of music include "Adios Reina del Cielo;" "Arriba, Arriba Iré;" and "Bendito, Bendito." Although Ruth was referring to childhood memories from Our Lady of Guadalupe, these hymns were commonly sung among Mexican American people in San Antonio. They served as the core repertory for Spanish-language Masses at St. Timothy through the 1970s, and still are sung there today.

---

[176] Also, Sister Mary Paul Valdez, MCDP, *The History of the Missionary Catechists of Divine Providence* (San Antonio: Missionary Catechists of Divine Providence, 1978), 122–23.

[177] Nicola A. Montani, *The St. Gregory Hymnal* (Philadelphia: The St. Gregory Guild, 1940).

[178] These hymns were sung either *a capella* or with organ accompaniment. "Alabanza" is a cognate of "alabados," a genre of Roman Catholic hymns sung in New Mexico that has received some attention and study. (Thomas J. Steele, S.J., *The Alabados of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.) The *alabanzas* sung at St. Timothy are known by all Hispanic Roman Catholic I have met. Whether and how this group of hymns are related to the *alabados* of New Mexico requires investigation.

Alicia Soriano began attending St. Timothy in 1957. She was hired by the parish in 1969 to cook, clean, and do secretarial work in the rectory for a few hours each workday. Sometime around 1970 her job description changed to include only secretarial tasks. Alicia remembers that in the pre-Vatican II years St. Timothy had a "wonderful choir" whose membership consisted of adults. She could not recall, however, when this choir disbanded or modified its repertory.

Dolores Oropeza's memories of St. Timothy begin around 1958 when she moved into the neighborhood. Dolores recalls few details about the Mass. She remembers adults and children singing from the choir loft "despues que llegaron las monjitas" (after the sisters arrived) at St. Timothy, indicating that the sisters were not serving at St. Timothy when she arrived. Archival records, however, show that the sisters began serving at St. Timothy in 1955. Dolores thinks that the choir sang both Latin and Spanish. Nothing was sung at low Mass. *Alabanzas* were sung at high Mass. Despite the fact that other informants do not recall singing *Alabanzas* at sung Mass (Sr. Gabriel Ann thought that it was proscribed), in principle, it was possible to have sung vernacular hymns during this kind of Mass after 1958 (DMS, 14).

ICC had difficulty maintaining a choir between 1958 and 1962 as indicated by four separate announcements in the parish bulleting during that period. The first one to appear reveals that the choir had experienced significant attrition after Christmas 1957.[179] By April 1958, the choir had only three or four regular members. The announcement invited "all the girls of the parish who are able to sing and who are not afraid to give an hour each week for choir practice" to join the choir; practices were held each Tuesday evening at 7:15 p.m. Six months later, the parish bulletin read:

[179] *Parish Bulletin*, 13 April 1958, VI no. 15.

> It is a little discouraging to see how few attend the Choir practices. Everyone expects nice services, everyone expects to hear beautiful songs on Christmas night, but so few respond to our beggings of coming to the practice. If you want to have a parish choir it is all up to you. We do not beg for your good will, we only will show you **for the last time**, your responsibility! [emphasis in original] [180]

A third attempt at recruitment appears the following spring.

> Next Tuesday is the last try for the choir practices at 7:15 PM. All men, boys and girls who are able to sing, please come Tuesday at 7:00 PM to the Rectory. Everyone is interested to have nice services in Church, but only a few are ready to give up a few hours to come and practice! If you want a Parish choir, we want your cooperation![181]

This final gathering was successful enough to elicit a grateful commentary the following week.[182] No further announcements concerning the choir appeared for three years—until the summer of 1962—when, once again, girls were encouraged to attend choir practice.[183] The choir is mentioned only once in 1963 (to cancel a choir practice) before a five-year hiatus of announcements on this subject.[184] Late in the summer of 1968 "all young people" are invited to attend choir practice to be held on a Monday evening.[185] Between 1968 and 1971, in contrast to pre-Vatican II years, announcements about the "youth choir" or "coro de jovenes" appear frequently.

These items in the parish bulletin raise many questions. First, it is difficult to determine whether "girls" in the earlier period refers both to female children and to adult women. Why would women have been excluded from the list given in February of 1959? Is this because "girls" included them? And, why were girls privileged in the first place

---

[180] Ibid., 26 October 1958, VI no. 41.
[181] Ibid., First Sunday of Lent (15 February 1959) VI no. 56.
[182] Ibid., Second Sunday in Lent (22 February 1959) VI no. 57.
[183] Ibid., Fifth Sunday after Pentecost (15 July 1962) IX no. 27 and Ninth Sunday after Pentecost (8 August 1962) IX no. 31.
[184] Ibid., Nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost (13 October 1963) VIII no. 43.
[185] Ibid., 4 August 1968, XV no. 31.

with boys and men being added to the invitation list only after months of unsuccessful attempts to recruit a choir? Perhaps one possible answer to the final question is that the choir was the only place where females could play a role in the ritual. As Archbishop Lucey had noted in his letter to educational institutions, girls could be encouraged to sing or trained to lead Mass responses as a group in their school context. It went without saying that women and girls weren't allowed to serve at the altar during Mass in any way whatsoever. Another possibility is that men and boys in the Mexican American community did not place a high value on Church choral activities. Despite the choir's strong clerical identity in the pre-Vatican II era, women did frequently sing in choirs.[186] It is noteworthy that at ICC the apparent focus was on recruiting girls' and women's voices.

Although reference to choral matters did not appear frequently in the parish bulletin, the lacuna of choral announcements spanning from October 1963 through August 1968 is puzzling and difficult to explain.[187] ICC was a large parish with five Sunday Masses and an elementary school and, surely, some kind of choir continued to provide liturgical music during this time frame. Undoubtedly, whatever type of organization and repertoire existed before the Second Vatican Council began to experience radical adjustments. Like every other Roman Catholic church of the time, ICC witnessed transition and general uncertainty among clergy and laity alike with respect to liturgical changes.

Furthermore, the years between 1963 and 1968 are significant in that *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was promulgated on December 4, 1963, and the final text of the

---

[186] Ruff, 382–387.

[187] There were two announcements regarding the choir in 1958 and 1959, one in 1961, two in 1962, and one in 1963.

reformed Mass became official on November 30, 1969.[188] The *Sacramentary* (the publication containing the text of the Mass) no longer distinguished between sung and read Mass and, effectively, it ratified total use of vernacular languages and Latin's abandonment as a liturgical language at ICC. Since the place of vernacular languages evolved between 1963 and 1969, it would be most instructive to discover whether any kind of organized singing took place at ICC and the rate at which Latin-language singing became obsolete.

Actually, the transition into vernacular languages began with the First Sunday in Advent of 1964.[189] By the summer of 1966, sufficient vernacular was in use to merit the additional distinction between "Spanish Mass" and "English Mass."[190] That announcements about the youth choir were published in both English and Spanish suggests that the youth may have led singing at two Masses or that they sang in both languages at the same Mass. Significantly, bulletins between 1958 and 1971 mention only one choir, not multiple choirs. Apparently, Spanish- and English-dominant speakers sang in the same group. If much of the Mass was still in Latin (and likely it was) the chorister's primary language would have been inconsequential. Bulletins do not state the choir's appointed time(s) for singing on Sunday (there were six Masses each Sunday) and whether it sang at low or high Mass before those categories were eliminated in 1969. Quite possibly, the choir may have sung at different Masses in rotation. During Masses when the choir was not present, singing may have been impromptu with members of the congregation starting hymns, as suggested by informants from St. Timothy. As it stands,

---

[188] The "Missal of Pope Paul VI" was approved with the Apostolic Constitution, *Missale Romanum*, on April 3, 1969.
[189] *Parish Bulletin*, XI no. 48.
[190] Ibid., Fifth Sunday after Pentecost (3 July 1966) XIII no. 27. The Sunday English Masses were celebrated at 8:30 a.m., 11:30 a.m., and 6:00 p.m. Therefore, the Sunday Spanish Masses would have been at 6:30 p.m. (Saturday), 10:15 a.m.

even a general picture of the parish's repertoire before and during the transition toward Vatican II reforms cannot be determined from the parish bulletins. Once again, many details regarding music and hymns lie beyond conjecture and parish bulletins raise more questions than they answer.

Presumably, the choir at ICC sang plainchant but the evidence at hand gives no indication about the extent of that repertory. Possibly, it may not have gone much beyond the Requiem and the Mass of the Angels, as was the case at St. Timothy and in conformance with the preparation given to the Missionary Catechists of Divine Providence. Assuming that the Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (ICM), the sisters who served at ICC, had an active hand in choral activities for the parish, it is possible that the chant repertory at ICC was more extensive and sophisticated than at St. Timothy.[191] The ICMs had strong ties to Belgium and a history significantly different from the MCDPs. These factors may have affected the kind of musical training they received. The evidence, however, does not speak to their musical training and facility with the chant repertory and neither does it indicate that the sisters were charged with leading liturgical singing.

Without musicians trained in western European art music, however, it is difficult to imagine the choir at ICC having a large Latin-language repertory. No evidence suggests that trained musicians were more readily available and affordable at ICC than at

[191] The ICMs are a Belgian community of sisters. Sr. Telly, at the headquarters of the ICM congregation in New York, informed me that their community in the USA has become very small and elderly. (Interviewed 13 December 2006.) They have neither the means nor the personnel to maintain an archive. For information concerning their former ministry at ICC, she referred me to Sr. Carolyn Kosub, ICM, in La Jolla, TX. (Interviewed 13 December 2006.) Sr. Carolyn is too young to have been assigned to ICC between 1958 and 1971 and knows of only one sister, now in her 80s, who may still recall information about their ministry at ICC. Unfortunately, Sr. Mary Lou, now retired in Belgium, had no recollection about her time at ICC.

St. Timothy. Financial reports published with Sunday bulletins do not contain a line item for music. Therefore, it appears that professional musicians, if any ever participated at liturgies, never received compensation for their services. Informants from St. Timothy report that the organ is the only instrument they ever recall hearing before the late 1960s and one of the sisters played it. The notion of paid singers was completely foreign and exceeded the parish's means. This information conforms to Sr. Gabriel Ann's comments that she and the sisters of her congregation "were the music" at whichever parish they served.

Archbishop Lucey's expectations were extremely modest considering that he made no musical demands on parochial congregations. Yet, teaching Latin responses to parishioners at ICC and St. Timothy exceeded pastoral resources. Either that or the clergy judged the congregation unable to learn those responses. Informants from St. Timothy make no mention of a concerted effort to teach them Latin responses. The MCDPs, however, did instruct children on singing and Mass participation. ICC did institute a brief coaching period during Lent of 1960. The results and follow-up, however, were limited. Exhortations concerning verbal responses at Mass begin in the spring of 1966 as use of vernacular continued to expand.[192]

Eagerness to use the vernacular was not limited to diocesan leaders in the years surrounding the Second Vatican Council. The ICC clergy wasted no time in using the vernacular once that option became available. Since they had not experienced success in eliciting liturgical responses from the faithful through the use of Latin, great hopes were placed upon the vernacular.

---

[192] *Parish Bulletin*, First Sunday of Passiontide (27 March 1966) XIII no. 13; Fifth Sunday after Pentecost (3 July 1966) XIII no. 27; Seventh Sunday after Pentecost (17 July 1966) XIII no. 29; Octave of Easter (2 April 1967) XIV no. 14; 23 July 1967, XIV no. 30. Several other announcements encourage parishioners to purchase their own missals from the parish office.

In order to show the musical contrast between the periods before and after the Second Vatican Council at St. Timothy and its neighboring parishes, it is necessary to examine musical activities in the 1970s. On November 7, 1971, the parishioners of St. Timothy witnessed the dedication of a new church replacing their original church constructed in 1953.[193] The dedication program contains texts for the readings and various prayers—all in English.[194] This is surprising since many people in that neighborhood are, to this day, Spanish-dominant or bilingual. The titles of hymns, however, are in Spanish.

Entrance Hymn: Cantad Al Senor
Offertory Song: Te Presentamos Senor
The Lord's Prayer: Sung
Communion Song: Dios Mio, Dios Mio
Recessional Hymn: Tu Reinaras

Nothing indicates how or whether the Responsorial Psalm and Alleluia were sung although texts for each are included. Among the other texts are parts recited by the presider (opening collect, preface to the Eucharistic Prayer, and prayer after communion). The presence of "entrance hymn," "offertory song," and "communion song" indicate that these replaced Propers from the Roman Gradual. A report from the diocesan newspaper provided a description of the new structure, sketchy information about the parish, with no photographs of or descriptive details about the ceremony.[195] No relevant archival materials are available at St. Timothy. Alicia and Ruth attended the dedication of the new church but neither recalls details about the music, the choir, and instruments used for that occasion.

---

[193] *Alamo Messenger*, 5 November 1971, 82nd Year no. 43, consulted at Catholic Archives of Texas, Austin, Tx. The building was consecrated by The Most Reverend Francis J. Furey. Furey, Lucey's successor, was Archbishop of San Antonio from 1969 until his death in 1979.
[194] Southwestern Oblate Historical Archives, San Antonio, Tx.
[195] *Alamo Messenger*.

Alicia Soriano and Gabriel Gonzales agree that guitars were not used at Mass in the old church. Alicia goes so far as to say that organized singing did not begin in the post-Vatican II era until the early 1970s. On June 3, 1973, The Reverend Albert Benavides assumed the office of pastor at St. Timothy which he held until January 30, 1980.[196] It was during Fr. Benavides's term as pastor that a Spanish-language choir flourished. According to Alicia, Benavides began recruiting members of the parish for a Spanish choir: "He talked to different men asking whether they knew how to play an instrument. Manuel Olivares was very clear that he knew how to play the accordion."[197] Manuel Olivares, together with Arnulfo Carrillo became leaders of "El Coro" or "The Spanish Choir" at St. Timothy. Fr. Benavides had no musical training but he stood to lead and sing with the Spanish choir out of pastoral necessity. Manuel and Arnulfo Carrillo were self-taught musicians.

In addition to singing, playing the guitar, and leading the "Spanish Choir," Carrillo also composed hymns. Until the late 1970s, these hymns were known almost exclusively at St. Timothy. Their distribution began through the efforts of an organization named the San Antonio Music Ministry Association ("SAMMA").[198] This group formed in the mid- to late-1970s under the leadership of Carmen de Luna and Fr. Joseph Lapauw, CICM. Initially, SAMMA began as a venue for Spanish-language liturgical choirs to share their music and contribute toward creative uses of liturgical music. Fairly quickly, the project expanded to include workshops and *encuentros* (conferences or meetings) for liturgical musicians—settings at which they could introduce their music to one another. SAMMA's work culminated in six collections of

---

[196] Information given by Brother Edward Loch, SM, Archivist at CASA, on 14 December 2006.
[197] Soriano, 14 September 2006.
[198] Carmen de Luna, interviewed in San Antonio, Tx., 29 September 2006.

liturgical music. The most substantial of these was a hymnal (including parts of the Ordinary in Spanish) called *La Familia de Dios Celebra* (God's Family Celebrates).[199] This collection contained some of Carrillo's compositions. In 1989, two of his hymns appeared in *Flor y Canto,* the premier Spanish-language hymnal in the USA.[200]

Sometime in the early 1980s, the lyrics to Carrillo's compositions were compiled into a single collection by Sister Pat Auer, SSND, a woman religious who befriended the Carrillo family during her ministry at St. Timothy.[201] The typed manuscript, *Compartir Es Amar* (To Share is to Love), is divided into two sections (Cantos Religiosos and Cantos Populares). Section one contains parts of the Ordinary as well as hymns, grouped into categories: Cantos de Entrada, Cantos de Santo, Cantos Para Comunión y Meditación—a total of 57 compositions. Lack of musical notation may be attributed to two reasons: 1) Sr. Pat was not a musician and 2) Carrillo received no formal musical training and his notation consisted of text with chord names placed above it. This kind of notational procedure complements an oral and improvisational tradition. Some of Carrillo's works, however, were transcribed into standard western European notation when they were published in *La Familia de Dios* and *Flor y Canto*. His family and Carmen de Luna hold recordings of him singing his own compositions.

Two types of Mexican and Mexican American music influence Carrillo's style: conjunto and mariachi. The Spanish choir at St. Timothy, however, tended more toward a conjunto sound (characterized by the use of accordion) than to a mariachi sound

---

[199] Carmen de Luna, Barry Hanson, Rev. Eduardo Hernández, and Reyna Quiroga, eds. (San Antonio: SAMMA, Inc., 1981).
[200] Owen Alstott, ed. (Portland, OR: OCP Publications, 1989); John J. Limb, ed., 2d ed. (Portland, OR: OCP Publications, 2001).
[201] *Compartir Es Amar*, unpublished manuscript, ca. 1980. Juanita Carrillo, interviewed by author in San Antonio, TX, 28 October 2006. Juanita is Arnulfo's widow.

(characterized by the use of trumpets and violins).[202] In practice, however, the group used whatever instruments were available at any given time. Although violins were never part of the ensemble, trumpets were. The popular and familiar style of the music kept the choir at 35 to 40 members during the 1970s, including instrumentalists (requinto, guitars, trumpet, accordion, string bass).[203] The choir regularly sang parts of the Ordinary and other hymns.[204]

SUMMARY

Even at the eve of the Second Vatican Council, the archbishop of San Antonio and his clergy were working to promote the faithful's exterior mode of participation in accord with *Mediator Dei*. Concurrently, they entertained possibilities for substituting the vernacular at Mass so that the faithful would not have to respond in Latin as consistently required by magisterial (teaching) documents of the Church. People's inability to understand and to respond in Latin was an obstacle to ritual dialogue with the priest.

Although *De Musica Sacra* addressed musical matters, Archbishop Lucey's implementation of the instruction lacks direct statements about liturgical music. Apparently, the higher priority was getting congregations accustomed to engaging dialogically with the priest. The Liturgical Movement's experiments with dialog Masses seem not to have gained currency in the Archdiocese. Congregations were so accustomed to private devotions at Mass that engaging their attention in the ritual to make liturgical responses was a large enough hurdle. Additionally, there possibly was no need to address the matter of plainchant and polyphony in his letter to all the parochial

---

[202] Soriano, 14 September 2006.
[203] Alicia Soriano, telephonic interview by author, 13 December 2006.
[204] By the early 1970s, hymns replaced the texts provided as Propers for the choir/assembly.

clergy. Relatively few parishes of the archdiocese had means ample enough to support the repertoire mentioned in DMS.[205] The archbishop and his advisors focused on securing verbal responses from the congregation at read Mass. Singing plainchant or simple responses at sung Mass was an aspiration. Vernacular hymns were seen as planting seeds for that. The extent to which congregations sang such hymns probably varied from one parish to the next. Only further investigations will shed light on this matter. But, on the basis of this preliminary study, Gregorian chant, polyphony, or, more generally, "art" music were not common fare everywhere in the Archdiocese of San Antonio.

ICC and St. Timothy, two parishes on the city's west side, served people who were economically disenfranchised. Their material resources were few and pastoral demands on the clergy and religious assigned there were high. These parishes formed a Six Parish Coalition with four neighboring parishes substantially similar in social and economic circumstances. Quite possibly, liturgical music in those parishes was comparable to what was performed at St. Timothy and ICC. Further research is required to make any positive conclusion in this regard.

---

[205] In a letter dated July 31, 1961, Monsignor Manning, vicar general of the Archdiocese of San Antonio, responded J. Leroy Manning (nothing suggests the two were related) of Flint, Michigan. Mr. Manning was inquiring about the availability of a professional music position within the Archdiocese. Mons. Manning answered that "[f]ew, if any, of our parishes here in Southwest Texas are economically able to afford a director of music and liturgy." (28 Folder no. 2, CASA.) In 1967, the archdiocese's limited resources also prevented any serious consideration to the founding of a local chapter of *Pueri Cantores*, an international Roman Catholic federation of boys' choirs. Written communication between Archbishop Lucey, his secretary, and a priest (musician) of the archdiocese reveal Lucey's mind. "If any action suggested by him [the cleric attempting to introduce *Pueri Cantores*] costs money we may not go along." (Memorandum from Archbishop Lucey to Fr. Charles Grahmann dated January 17, 1967. 28 Folder no. 3, CASA.)

On the whole, most informants from St. Timothy immediately focused on the fact that in the years before the reforms of the Second Vatican Council they understood little about what occurred during the Mass. With regard to hymns and singing, the best recollection concerns Spanish rather than Latin hymns. ICC's parish bulletins indicate that even coaching and encouragement was unsuccessful in eliciting spoken Latin responses from the congregation. The bulletins offer no evidence as to musical repertory.

The only musicians who received any formal training at St. Timothy were the MCDPs, women religious who served the parish for a stipend. Part of their role was to provide liturgical music and to teach parishioners, insofar as it was possible, whatever music and chant was necessary for Mass. The sisters' musical training was rudimentary and intended to be functional—enough to help them provide two Mass settings for sung Mass and to accompany vernacular (English and Spanish) hymns. The evidence suggests that professional musicians trained in western European art music never participated in providing liturgical music at either St. Timothy or at ICC, before or after the Second Vatican Council. Clergy and religious encouraged and attempted to teach the faithful spoken responses in Latin but success was limited. The musical repertoire to which DMS refers was hardly known at St. Timothy and ICC. Contrary to what may be expected, musical repertory was paltry relative to the extensive body of Western plainchant and polyphony. This musical void was quickly filled by the first opportunity to make music in a recognized musical idiom and in a vernacular language.

SAMMA, the movement which supported mostly Spanish-language liturgical music in San Antonio for a few years, did have support from parish priests. Significantly, however, the organization had strong lay leadership and was not an official diocesan agency. This points to a change in how laity viewed themselves in the context of Church. Responsibility for the Church's liturgical music became less that of the clergy and

women religious (who had begun radically to reduce in number by the early 1970s). The mysterious music in an unknown language was replaced as members of the congregation assumed leadership and sang music that, increasingly, was of their own creation (composition) and of their own making. It was a liturgical music that gave expression to local Christian convictions, thoughts, and sentiments, in a word: theology.

VATICAN II: GREGORIAN CHANT, POLYPHONY, AND CONVERSION

This section expands on previous discussion regarding liturgy. It argues that Vatican II mentioned a specific type of liturgical music repertory (namely, plainchant and polyphony) as a gesture of compromise with trends from the late nineteenth century and the Liturgical Movement. Background on the Council itself will clarify how its purpose and work affected liturgical music. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (SC), the Second Vatican Council's constitution on the liturgy, avails itself of pastoral experience, propounds theological principles, and proposes a synthesis in the form of general guidelines that esteem elements of tradition.[206]

Since the final session of the Second Vatican Council in 1965, many musicians have concluded that the Church values neither "good music" nor, by extension, their own contributions. This kind of disaffection began to manifest itself very early—even during meetings of the Council's preparatory commissions.[207] It was not altogether a surprise since conflict between musicians and the Liturgical Movement began appearing in the 1940s.[208] After the Council, when it became clear that vernacular languages would be a hallmark of liturgical reform, church musicians (some of whom were clerics) alleged that

---

[206] SC was promulgated December 4, 1963.

[207] In January 1959, Pope John XXIII announced that a council would be convened at the Vatican in the fall of 1962. Four months later, "ante-preparatory commissions" were established to develop topics and issues for the council's consideration. Preparatory commissions began to draft documents for the council in June 1960. (Marini, xvii.)

[208] Musicians had supported and were involved in the Liturgical Movement. The tide began to turn as it became apparent that the Liturgical Movement proposed changes contrary to the interests of plainchant. The monks of Solesmes and other musicians complained to the Vatican asking that the movement be "contained." (Ruff, 245–50.)

misinterpretation and poor implementation of SC virtually eliminated Gregorian chant and polyphony from the Mass. This explanation, however, creates a false problem.

While it is true that the Second Vatican Council marked a watershed for reform, it is not entirely accurate to claim that Gregorian chant and polyphony became casualties in the interest of reform. First, plainchant and polyphony already had limited appeal decades before the Council and attempts to widen the appeal were not universally successful, the papacy's supportive campaign notwithstanding. Second, SC must be interpreted in light of other documents, among them, the other three constitutions promulgated by the Council and subsequent magisterial documents implementing principles contained in the constitutions.[209] The magisterium has done what the Council intended—stimulated conversion, that is, reinterpreted and reconfigured almost every aspect of the Church's life in light of present circumstances. Although Gregorian chant and polyphony are consistently esteemed as parts of tradition, in the context of conversion, they are part of a broad range of possibilities.

Liturgy

Liturgy is a complex theological term that, in the West, began to appear in the late sixteenth century but not with any frequency until the nineteenth century.[210] Preferred by

---

[209] The other three constitutions of the Council and their dates of promulgation are as follows: *Lumen Gentium*, on the Church (November 21, 1964), *Dei Verbum* on divine revelation (November 18, 1965), and *Gaudium et Spes* on the Church in the modern world (December 7, 1965). "Magisterial" (and its cognates) may be defined as the Church's teaching authority exercised by the pope in conjunction with the bishops of the universal church. For purposes of this essay, magisterial documents are authoritative statements by the pope, synods of bishops, and various departments of the Vatican which interpret and clarify the Church's faith and worship.

[210] Aimé Georges Martimort, Irénée Henri Dalmais, O.P., et al., *The Church at Prayer: An Introduction to the Liturgy, Vol. I: Principles of the Liturgy*, New Edition, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1987): 7–13. The Orthodox and Byzantine Catholic Churches use "liturgy" solely for celebration of the Eucharist

the Liturgical Movement over more traditional Roman Catholic terminology that included "rites, ceremonies, and functions," Vatican II introduces "liturgical actions" to describe the Church's ritual activity. This change is significant. "Liturgy" and "liturgical actions" call attention to several points:

> that the liturgy brings into intense play all the activities of those who are present; that it has an objective and real result, independent of the edification that the participants feel (they are "accomplishing" something); that it has a movement, a rhythm, a dynamic unity proper to it, despite the fact that a student can also go on and analyze gestures, the visible elements and the invisible realities. The liturgy exists only at the time when it is being celebrated; that is why it is unintelligible to those who do not participate in it, while on the contrary its reality is perceived to the extent that those present are involved in it.[211]

Liturgy entails various types of components: tangible and observable; intangible and inscrutable; people, objects, and gestures. Each is highly implicated in and important to the dynamics of human/divine communion but none bears sole responsibility for it. Therefore, "worship and praise" no more captures the totality of the Church's liturgical actions than do "music and song" or "grace and sacrifice," although these all are significant, if not necessary, aspects of liturgy.

The heart of the Mass transforms both the elements on the altar and the persons (individually and corporately) consuming those gifts. By God's grace, transformation is accomplished through a complex symbol system emerging from ordinary human life and reinterpreted by the Church's faith. In Byzantium, for example, all liturgical matters—

(*theia leitourgia*—Divine Liturgy), "Mass" being derived from the Latin *missum*—to send or to dismiss. This word is found in the priest's final declaration to the congregation at the end of Eucharistic celebration: *Ite missa est* (literally, "go, you are dismissed" or "go, you are sent forth"). In the Vatican II reception era, most Roman Catholic scholars employ a liberal use of "liturgy," i.e., it refers to as many ritual celebrations as possible—the Mass, canonical hours, the sacraments, and prayer services. Some Roman Catholics reserve "liturgy" solely for sacramental celebrations and other services approved by Rome. In this latter instance, "paraliturgy," refers to rituals not officially approved by Rome.

[211] Martimort, 13.

vesture, furnishings, architecture, sounds, and procedures—were intentionally ordered and arranged.[212] Liturgy corresponds to a cosmic order that glorifies God and arouses the imagination pointing humanity toward its end. By reflecting the Divine, liturgy simultaneously creates an encounter with the Triune God and interprets that encounter. Liturgy is both praxis (Christian life itself) and theory (rational reflection). Insofar as it crafts and choreographs, liturgy is praxis; insofar as it assists the mind to interpret experience of the Divine, liturgy is theology. The Latin maxim, *lex orandi lex credendi* (the rule of praying is the rule of believing), vocalizes Western Christianity's affirmation of liturgy as a faith dynamic.

Musical Considerations before Vatican II

The "official" music *Tra le sollecitudini* (TLS) and later documents attempted to foster had failed to establish firm roots in parochial liturgies throughout the whole Church. The repertory's almost exclusive association with Latin rendered it moot as vernacular languages promptly entered common usage. Presumably, the two musical styles had distinct ends: Gregorian chant was ordered toward congregational singing; polyphony enhanced devotion and solemnity. Both styles, however, became identified as old-fashioned. Significantly, musical styles other than plainchant and polyphony already had been present in the Roman rite. Roman Catholic liturgical music in the years before Vatican II included a variety of musical practices. Music at Mass involved choirs and large instrumental forces, at least from time to time, but frequently enough to arouse papal concern. Pius X's promotion of Gregorian chant and Palestrina-type polyphony attempted to eliminate this practice and sought to replace it with congregational singing or plainchant that corresponded to the ritual being enacted. In slightly different terms,

[212] Robert F. Taft, S.J., *Through Their own Eyes: Liturgy as the Byzantines Saw It* (Berkeley, CA: InterOrthodox Press, 2006), 134–37.

Church documents of the early twentieth century labored to monitor and keep non-official music in check so as to promote an official repertory considered more appropriate to the liturgical rite's history. Yet, the Vatican's efforts succeeded little in promoting the desired repertory either at read or sung Mass.

Ironically, much as Pius X wanted to promote congregational singing in Latin, singing was already alive and well in some places—albeit in the vernacular. The amount of singing or even its presence varied from culture to culture. For example, some Mexican Americans in south Texas sang very little at Mass and what they did sing was in Spanish; the Irish sang almost nothing at all, while German Catholics frequently sang vernacular hymns. With regularity, hymnody sung at low Mass made no direct reference to the activity being carried out by the priest. As such, it was perfectly compatible with the congregation's experience of Mass in the Church's Baroque period—more devotional than liturgical.

THE LITURGICAL MOVEMENT

Pius XII's distinction between interior and exterior participation begged the question about how the laity and parochial clergy actually perceived Eucharistic celebration. William J. Leonard, S.J., a leader of the Liturgical Movement in the USA, recounts his own experience that corroborates the situation described at St. Timothy and ICC.[213] Despite academic theology's interior/exterior distinction, liturgy in early-twentieth century America "was something … strictly according to the rubrics, without feeling or expression. For most, liturgy was a passive experience."[214] People's limited

---

[213] "The Liturgical Movement in the United States," in *The Liturgy of Vatican II: A Symposium in Two Volumes*, ed. William Baraúna (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1966), 294–95; *The Letter Carrier: The Autobiography of William J. Leonard, S.J.* (Kansas City: Sheed & Ward, 1993), 145ff. [cited by Pecklers, 39–40.]
[214] Pecklers, 39.

comprehension of the clergy's ritual activity (and at times, the clergy's own limited comprehension of what they themselves were doing) defied *Mediator Dei*'s logic. The theology did not address the observations and needs of pastoral experience. The Liturgical Movement advocated plainchant for the Mass but its success was limited, especially in the USA where the movement's influence was limited to the Midwest among people of German descent and in monasteries. Generally, plainchant found favor in monastic settings but failed in parishes. Furthermore, Gregorian chant lacked thorough theological and pastoral (practical) substantiation as congregational music; it had been rationalized solely on the basis of tradition and a tenuous one at that. A single and universally applicable musical repertory has no theological justification. One of Anthony Ruff's conclusions provides food for thought in this regard.

> If my understanding of the liturgical reform of the Second Vatican Council is correct, an important consequence for the theory and practice of postconciliar liturgical music results: there is no absolute mode of worship music in the Roman liturgy. Too many ideals stand in tension with one another. In contrast, at the beginning of the last century, Pope Pius X proposed a nearly absolute ideal of worship music, in terms of style and genre, that I have characterized as neo-Platonic [Ruff, 281]. … Such a stylistic absolute has proven to be untenable and is no longer advanced by the magisterium.[215]

That aside, theological trends toward the middle of the twentieth century that carefully began to decipher "participation" at Mass failed to account for music, and for a particular music, other than to relegate singing to a form of participation.

Various cultural and ecclesial phenomena fed into the nineteenth century chant revival's admiration of renaissance polyphony. Not least among the influences were romantic notions about monastic life, reverence for things Italian/Roman, desire to re-establish medieval Christianity's golden age, and the dread of modern philosophy's critique of religion. Liturgical practice reflected theological opinions about the Church as

[215] Ruff, 610.

a sacred and hierarchical institution—papacy, priesthood, sacraments, grace, authority, obedience, and the like. God's grace manifested itself through the priest's actions and showered down upon the faithful. Music heard and sung at Mass, as a ritual agent, expressed the liturgy's theological content.

The rise of Catholic social action movements, the Liturgical Movement once tied to a European plainchant revival, and theological reflection upon the Church as Mystical Body of Christ increasingly indicated that Roman Catholic liturgy had misplaced its essential link to daily Christian life. Beginning in the early twentieth century, theory and praxis attempted to reintegrate the Church's rituals with modern needs.

The Council and Beyond

Convened by John XXIII as a "pastoral council," the Second Vatican Council considered and commented upon modern concerns regarding human existence and the Church's role in responding to humanity's most profound needs and aspirations. The Council's pastoral approach needed to maintain faithfulness "to the Spirit of Christ who was calling it [the Church] to a new era of life as a world-wide community."[216] A truly pastoral response required practical remedies to real problems. Consequently, it instituted specific changes based on liturgical scholarship, theology, and pastoral experience that had been circulating since early in the twentieth century. A reflective process since Vatican II has remained constant and necessary to ensure fidelity to the Council's vision.[217] Together, praxis and theory examine and pursue actions implied by the Council. This activity constitutes the Church's living tradition.[218]

---

[216] Markey, 183.

[217] Markey, 18–21. John Paul II, in his encyclical letter of May 1995, *Ut Unum Sint* (On Commitment to Ecumenism), acknowledges that the Council committed the Church to work toward Christian unity. (http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_25051995_ut-unum-sint_en.html, accessed April 5,

The Council's liturgical reforms were greatly influenced by the Liturgical Movement that had spread from Europe to the Americas and by ongoing theological reflection rooted (in some cases) in nineteenth century German theology.[219] For example, Johann Adam Möhler's (1798–1838) work speaks of the Church as a "community of the faithful" rather than as a hierarchical institution governed by law. His writings, considered together with 1 Corinthians 10 fed directly into early twentieth century theological conceptions of Church as Mystical Body of Christ.[220] *Mystici Corporis Christi* and *Mediator Dei* officially sanctioned this kind of theological development. They challenged, among many other things, liturgical practice which rendered the congregation passive and invited discourse on participation.

THE COUNCIL AND MUSIC

As a conciliar document, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*'s authority is unique. It is, however, a statement of theological principles subject to continuous interpretation.[221] The articles in SC dealing with music are:

> 112. The musical tradition of the universal Church is a treasure of immeasurable value, greater even than that of any other art. The main reason for this pre-

---

2008.) There, the pope cites his own obligation to realize that goal. Since, the Church continues to implement the Council's directives and work toward its goals, some theologians consider the years since Vatican II to be years of reception rather than simply "post-Vatican II." Baldovin, agreeing with Anscar Chupungco (*Liturgies of the Future: The Process and Methods of Inculturation* (New York: Paulist Press, 1989), 3–23.), sees "the first generation of liturgies produced after the Council as a kind of bare-bones reform that still required quite a bit of inculturation." ("The Uses of Liturgical History," 7.) Even in terms of liturgical practice, then, the Council's reforms continue.

[218] Ruff provides an excellent discussion about tradition as a theological concept and its application to liturgical music. (Ruff, 181–91.)

[219] Pecklers, 29–34; O'Meara, *Church and Culture*, 31, 197–98; O'Meara, *Romantic Idealism*, 149, 168.

[220] For relevant citations from 1 Corinthians and the relationship between the Church and the Eucharist, see fn. 126

[221] Promulated December 4, 1963.

> eminence is that, as sacred melody united to words, it forms a necessary or integral part of the solemn liturgy. …
>
> 114. The treasure of sacred music is to be preserved and fostered with very great care. …
>
> 116. The Church acknowledges Gregorian chant as proper to the Roman liturgy: therefore, other things being equal [emphasis added], it should be given pride of place in liturgical services.
>
> But other kinds of sacred music, especially polyphony, are by no means excluded from liturgical celebrations…
>
> 117. The typical edition of the books of Gregorian chant is to be completed; and a more critical edition is to be prepared of those books already published since the restoration by St. Pius X.
>
> It is desirable also that an edition be prepared containing simpler melodies, for use in small churches.

SC does allow exceptions for the sake of cultural adaptation.

> 119. In certain parts of the world, especially mission lands, there are peoples who have their own musical traditions, and these play a part in their religious and social life. For this reason, *due importance is to be placed upon their music* [emphasis added], and a suitable place is to be given to it, not only by way of forming their attitude toward religion, but also when there is question of adapting worship to their native genius.

The qualifying statements (articles 116 and 119), like others in the Council's documents, must be understood as compromises which are part of a legislative body's normal process and negotiated in committees as well as in plenary sessions.[222]

AN ASIDE: RECENT INTERPRETATION

A magisterial document, *Sing to the Lord: Music in Divine Worship*, prepared by the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) for the USA, presents a recent interpretation of SC's article 116.

[222] Marini, *passim*; Ferrone, 13–18.

> The "pride of place" given to Gregorian chant by the Second Vatican Council is modified by the important phrase "other things being equal." These "other things" are the important liturgical and pastoral concerns facing every bishop, pastor, and liturgical musician. In considering the use of the treasures of chant, pastors and liturgical musicians should take care that the congregation is able to participate in the Liturgy with song. They should be sensitive to the cultural and spiritual milieu of their communities, in order to build up the Church in unity and peace.[223]

Gregorian chant and polyphony are acknowledged musical treasures. The choice to use this repertory, however, must take into consideration the people's own cultural expressions (article 119 from SC) and their ability to participate and respond in song. As previously discussed, plainchant and polyphony's relative import—relative to congregational participation—already had been acknowledged in *Mediator Dei* nearly a decade before the Council. In *Sing to the Lord*, the bishops of the USA recognize that the Church's current circumstances ("cultural pluralism") call for the use of a broad range of cultural symbols, including musical idioms.[224] Since "[s]inging is one of the primary ways that the assembly of the faithful participates in the Liturgy," the bishops also state that "music publishers need to be encouraged to offer multilingual options for use which would be more expressive of our unity amidst such great diversity."[225] In applying principles from SC, the USCCB places emphasis on congregational participation but still affirms "pride of place" for Gregorian chant.

AT THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL: LATIN AND THE VERNACULAR

Reports concerning the Council's proceedings, its working committees, and the vote on SC evidence an overwhelming support for liturgical reform.[226] The path of

---

[223] Issued November 14, 2007.
[224] *Sing to the Lord*, article 57.
[225] *Sing to the Lord*, articles 26 and 57.
[226] Deliberations clearly indicated that liturgical reforms were necessary. The final vote on SC took place on November 14, 1962. Of the 2,215 council fathers eligible to vote, 2,162 voted in favor, 46 opposed, and 7 ballots were blank. (Ferrone, 13–18; Marini, xx.)

reform quickly set aside polyphony and plainchant, to whatever extent that music existed in a location, a repertory that many (clerics, laity, and musicians) had taken for granted. As pastoral experience and theological reflection cooperated to implement the Council's teaching and to connect liturgy more closely to daily Christian life, many Roman Catholic practices either were transformed or simply disappeared.[227]

Resistance to any kind of change began to manifest itself within the Roman curia, among musicians, and within the Council's preparatory commission even before the Council opened. Latin and sacred music were intertwined topics of great controversy. The Council's mind was split on whether or not to permit vernacular languages. Emotions ran high during discussions about Latin versus the vernacular.[228]

> Those who favored Latin saw in it a crucial expression of the unity of the Latin rite church, and a guarantee of orthodoxy. Those who favored the vernacular believed it to be essential to the expression and cultivation of the living faith of the people, for whom Latin was no longer a living language. … The fathers of the council, however, did not expect the desire for celebration in the vernacular to rise so quickly or to be so overwhelming. Most felt the vernacular would not be

---

[227] Many popular devotions such as novenas, recitation of the rosary, and other private devotions have become less common. One reason is because these devotions served to occupy the faithful during Mass when little of it was understood by most. Former devotions have been supplanted by the laity's greater involvement in liturgical events (prayer services, the canonical hours, lay ministries at the altar) and the ability to comprehend liturgical events.

[228] Ferrone, 46. The Council was a microcosm of the Church which had been debating whether or not to continue using Latin as a liturgical language, arguably, since the late-eighteenth century. (Pecklers, 62–70.) In the USA, for example, contentions over using the vernacular had caused heated discussions since the early decades of the twentieth century. A noteworthy insight came from Hans A. Reinhold who said that when Americans commented on "the beauty of Latin" at Mass, they referred to their appreciation of its sound rather than to its manner of expressing content. Reinhold resists maintaining Latin for this reason because "[t]he Mass is not an opera of Verdi or Bizet. You can enjoy *Carmen* perfectly well if you don't understand French (although you will enjoy it more if you do, given an equal amount of musical capital to go on), but liturgy is "Logos," mystery, not drama and music." ("The Vernacular Problem in 1909," *The Clergy Review* 27 (1947), 366 (cited by Pecklers, 68).)

> needed for the Divine Office at all, and that Latin plainchant would always predominate in the area of liturgical music, even when alternatives were allowed.[229]

The Council and its subcommittees operated with the premise that vernacular languages conflicted with Gregorian chant and polyphony written to a Latin text; translations were unacceptable. The committee charged with implementing liturgical reforms, *Consilium ad exsequendam Consitutionem da Sacra Liturgia* [hereafter Consilium], certainly operated with this in mind and confronted the problem as early as April 1964.[230] It was then that they considered at which points of the Mass to permit peoples' "mother tongue." The Consilium changed its mind about the essential unity between Latin and Gregorian melody during their meeting in November 1965 when they permitted the preface of the Roman Canon (*Vere dignum et justum est*), the only eucharistic prayer at that time, to be recited in the vernacular.[231] Their decision the year before had been not to allow the vernacular during the preface because the Gregorian melody used for the preface required Latin.

BACKWARD MUSICIANS?

Monsignor Higinio Anglès (1888–1969), prominent musicologist and rector of the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music in Rome (1947– ?), was appointed to lead the

---

[229] Ferrone, 46. The source for Ferrone's final comment regarding the Office and plainchant is Pierre Jounel (from a 1994 interview, in *Voices from the Council*, edited by Michael Prendergast and M.D. Ridge (Portland, OR: Pastoral Press, 2004), 161–62.). To clarify, Latin was considered synonymous with "orthodoxy and loyalty" to Catholicism because translating Latin into vernacular had been one of Martin Luther's first endeavors. (Pecklers, 66.)

[230] Marini names the principal leaders of the Consilium. (Marini, 41–44.) The group was composed of approximately five cardinals, a dozen bishops from various parts of the world, and several priests. Working with them were a number of *periti* (experts) in various fields: liturgy, scripture, canon law, music, art. The Consilium functioned from 1963 to 1969.

[231] Marini, 84.

Council's preparatory commission on sacred music. Reportedly, Anglès all but sabotaged the commission's work, claiming

> that this body was the "number one enemy of Latin," which was not true. Behind the assault was firm opposition to congregational singing, which it was feared, would displace the role of the choir and destroy the patrimony of sacred music treasured by the church in recent centuries.[232]

Ferrone adds a footnote to this text.

> Monsignor Anglès also exhibited paranoia about Communists, and for this reason refused to send materials to a Polish bishop assigned to his committee.[233]

Ferrone's purpose is to report on the tensions and difficulties of reform. This characterization, however, actually disguises an *ad hominem* attack. To be fair, Ferrone's depiction should also consider Anglès's own words a few years into the Council's reception period. At the Fifth International Church Music Congress in 1966, Anglès remarked:

> The Pontifical Institute in Rome…has a great work, because it must save this treasure [of sacred music], it must promote the Gregorian chant, the ancient polyphony, modern polyphony, music for the organ and religious singing by the people.[234]

---

[232] Ferrone, 13–14. Mons. Anglès's struggle with liturgical reforms seems to have gone back several decades. He was among the musicians who called for a close monitoring of the Liturgical Movement. (See footnote 208.) During and after the Second Vatican Council, he remained active in promoting Gregorian chant and polyphony. (Ruff, *passim*.)

[233] Ferrone, 112 (footnote 23). Mons. Anglès's attitudes toward Communism surely were shaped by conflicts in his homeland. He was Catalan and left Spain in 1936 because of the Spanish Civil War. (Jack Westrup, "Anglès, Higini [Anglès, Higinio], in *The New Grove Music Online,* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/00936?q=angles&hbutton_search.x=0&hbutton_search.y=0&hbutton_search=search&source=omo_t237&source=omo_gmo&source=omo_t114&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit (accessed June 14, 2009).

[234] "Remarks at the Formal Opening of the Congress: Rt. Reverend Higinio Anglès," in *Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform After Vatican II: Proceedings of the Fifth International*

Clearly, Anglès recognized that Vatican II upheld congregational singing as a liturgical value. The congress where he spoke these words struggled to discern the direction liturgical music was taking in 1966.

Conciliar reforms did cause anxiety among musicians but probably no more so than in the Church at large. Granting that Ferrone's report is perhaps too limited in scope to develop her remarks about Anglès, the sleight of hand employed to undermine a prominent church musician's expertise warrants thoughtful consideration. As one scholar recently noted about those who question the work of liturgical historians, "[i]t seems to me that these authors cannot simply be dismissed as cranks or restorationists."[235] In this case, the authors are musicians whose musical opinions and tastes are difficult to reconcile with the majority of modern North American liturgical celebrations.

AN EXAMPLE OF RECENT POLEMICS

At times, musicians themselves confirm the Church hierarchy's worst suspicions of snobbery and closed-mindedness. One example from a recent Roman Catholic publication shows both extreme and moderate positions concerning music at Eucharistic celebrations.

Between the summers of 2006 and 2007, *National Catholic Register* (hereafter NCReg), a Roman Catholic newspaper with a "traditionalist" viewpoint, published six commentaries by Webster A. Young.[236] Young's pieces addressed Roman Catholic

---

Church Music Congress Held in Chicago-Milwaukee, August 21–28, 1966, ed. Johannes Overath (Rome: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1969), 255.

[235] Baldovin, 3.

[236] "On Vatican II and the Music of the People," *National Catholic Register,* August 12–18, 2007 (http://ncregister.com/site/article/3376, accessed 1 November 2007); "The Music Critic and Reform," *National Catholic Register,* July 22–August 4, 2007 (http://ncregister.com/site/article/3226, accessed 1 November 2007); "Silence Surely Beats Sacred Muzak," *National Catholic Register,* April 8–14, 2007 (accessed 1 November 2007); "A Choice: Art Music, Bad Music or None," *National Catholic*

music at Mass. NCReg identifies Young as a "classical music composer"; Young's website presents him as "a prolific composer for opera, ballet, orchestra, piano, solo strings, and solo guitar."[237] By his own admission, Young lacks theological training and writes from the perspective of a professional musician concerned with the quality of music that has become common at celebrations of the Mass.

Young claims that inferior music is inappropriate for the liturgy. Because SC recommends rather than legislates a repertoire and because Young disapproves of contemporary styles of popular music, he must show how popular music is inferior. He draws a stark contrast between two styles of music so as to show the inferiority of one over another.

> In the documents of the Second Vatican Council is a mandate for the encouragement of the popular in music— the "music of the people" at Mass. This is an aspect of Vatican II that lovers of fine music hope will not always be understood as it has been by many parishes. … Today in America, up to 90 million people have muzak forced upon them daily—and it ranges from trivial pop music to the most debased forms of rap music. Musical ignorance is on the rise among the populace, and musical taste is in decline. Where once musical amateurs used to play the piano and sing, some amateurs today beat on tribal drums. … Popular music is debased from a musical point of view. It is weak and unaccomplished when compared to finer music. Moreover, there are many forms of folk music in the world that are superior musically to pop and rock music. … Many songs [used at Mass] have the typical three- and four-chord harmonies of pop songs and melodies that do not reach the level of the mediocre when compared to disciplined music, the great hymns, Gregorian chant or classical melody. From a technical-musical point of view, most pop music is unaccomplished music. However, there can be no question that this is now "the music of the people." … One fact of my own experience serves as a telling sign of the weakness of the volunteer system in church music. As a published composer of symphonies, ballets and operas (and I am a pianist, violinist, and

---

Register, March 25–31, 2007 (http://ncregister.com/site/article/2116, accessed 3 November 2007); "On Folk Music in Church," *National Catholic Register,* January 14–20, 2007; "What Happened to the Music at Mass?" *National Catholic Register,* June 25–July 1, 2006.

[237] http://www.websteryounglinks.com/index.shtml (accessed 5 November 2007).

> guitarist)—I have never once been spontaneously *asked for advice* [emphasis in original] by anyone—priests and lay musicians alike—in the whole of my life as a Catholic in America. … It is remarkable that no one has ever asked me to do something—not even in a single question—worthy of my expertise in music.[238]

Young's argument relies heavily on the claim that the fathers of Vatican II could not have foreseen that the "music of the people" would develop into the musical styles he deplores and disparages. Whether or not the Council foresaw consequences of its acts, the fact remains that the Church accepts the Council's statements as legitimate teaching and has continued to interpret and to apply those principles. The claim that the Council failed to forecast supposed undesirable events and that some of its teaching ought to be set aside for that reason is fraught with theological problems.

Young's polemical style aroused mild to strong disagreement from readers whose responses also appeared in NCReg.

> [R]ather than try to help solve a perceived problem, [Young] has taken pot shots at the many dedicated "volunteers" who give generously of their time and talent to provide music for Masses. As to the charge of poor taste and debased music in our liturgies: Is it not possible that the simplicity of current pop-style music is attractive precisely because it works? Is it not possible that its appeal lies in the fact that the congregation can actually *sing* [emphasis in original] it? I highly doubt that your average Catholic in Mozart's day was able to sing along with the motets and choruses that were on offer in Vienna. … Granted, [pop music] is not nearly as complex or intellectually satisfying as a Beethoven concerto or a Bach cantata—or even a Lloyd-Weber ballad. But pop music—in its best incarnations—does have a way of reaching into people's hearts and giving voice to their emotions, convictions, dreams and desires. I have no problem with incorporating Latin or classical music into liturgy when appropriate. … There is good music out there. Why not trust that millions of people who have connected with this music may well be on to something—and then find a way to redeem it and shape it into a vehicle for worship? So please, no more snobbery. Music is too powerful a force to be restricted to the "experts."[239]

---

[238] "On Vatican II and the Music of the People."

[239] Mark Jameson, "Letters to the Editor: No More Snobbery, Please," *National Catholic Register* Vol 83, no. 33, August 26, 2007.

Jameson rightly points out that the kind of music Young seems to favor does not foster congregational singing. The music now in use, in many cases, is produced by volunteers who do so out of goodwill, necessity, and as an offering to God. Words from a church choir director reiterate a challenge to Young and remind professionals of music's accessibility to all who approach.

> As far as the evolution of music, does this depend on the approval of academics? Music is a gift. Some people need intellectually challenging music, others need less challenging. Sometimes, the same person needs intellectually challenging music at one time and simpler music at another. In fact, this is my own experience as a musician. One day I'll be going through preludes and fugues or playing some big organ piece in church and the next day I'll take out my five-string banjo to play some nice Irish tunes or even some hard driving bluegrass. Is a Volkswagen "unaccomplished" compared to a Mercedes? Of course not, it accomplishes exactly what it's supposed to accomplish: to be an affordable car for the "people."…Forget about condescending articles. This isn't helping anyone. Just jump in and get your hands dirty and pray that God will use you.[240]

The word "gift" in this context seems to indicate that musical performance and enjoyment abounds among human beings. Music belongs to whomever chooses to participate in its making. Additionally, music caters to individual as well as communal needs and tastes.

Summary

Sitting squarely in the nineteenth century, *Tra le sollecitudini* (TLS) reflected Roman Catholic Neo-Baroque theology and set the tone for twentieth century Roman Catholic liturgical music. TLS established Gregorian chant and polyphony as the flagship of Roman Catholic liturgical music with the intention of eradicating musical improprieties and promoting congregational singing by means of plainchant. Although subsequent documents continued to promote the musical repertory set forth in TLS,

---

[240] Steve McManaman, "Letters to the Editor: Holy Spirit-Inspired Music," *National Catholic Register* Vol 83, no. 33, August 26, 2007.

theological underpinnings regarding liturgy and, therefore, liturgical music had begun to shift. As a consequence, the congregation's vocal participation—especially ritual dialogue with the priest—became necessary rather than merely desirable. Gregorian chant, defined as the Roman rite's music *par excellence*, was a means to that end.

Polyphony served Neo-Baroque Catholicism in a variety of ways. It added solemnity by expanding on chant melodies and the beauty of its sound better disposed the faithful to a fuller reception of grace. For better or worse, the bipartite repertory (at least chant) was virtually unknown in many, if not most places. This occurred because other music in the vernacular was preferred; some parishes survived on meager musical rations because they lacked economic and cultural resources with which to cultivate the official repertory.

Although Gregorian chant and polyphony were highly esteemed and actively promoted, two points must be kept in mind. First, theological justification was attached to the people's participation and not to musical styles themselves. Second, no dogmatic value was attributed to either Gregorian chant or polyphony; the texts, often biblical, bear the dogmatic and theological content.

Decades before the Council opened, liturgical music was involved in a complex interplay between culture and theology. For the most part, people in the Church's Neo-Baroque period "heard" Mass. Some congregations sang vernacular hymns that spoke to their religious experience. Others may have listened to a choir sing Gregorian chant or polyphony or both at the same Mass. Many Masses probably had no singing and no music whatsoever. The Liturgical Movement and liturgical musicians engaged in conflicts about liturgical reform and liturgical music. From the perspective of a musician trained in Western art music (for lack of a better term), the swiftness with which Gregorian chant and polyphony lost favor during the Second Vatican Council's reception

period is most regrettable. The evidence, however, does not indicate that Gregorian chant and polyphony were displaced due to a hermeneutical mishap and inattentive leadership. Rather, their place in theological discourse was reinterpreted due to fundamental changes in the Church's self-understanding. The Mass became less about what the priest does by himself than about what the whole assembly (the priest included) does. The altar's reorientation (away from the wall and toward the assembly) symbolized the paradigm shift. In this ecclesial context, Gregorian chant's value is continually asserted but modified and polyphony joins other musical styles, each expressive of a particular culture's encounter with God.

For most theologians, conciliar documents provide tools for interpreting tradition in a manner that speaks to modern society. Some musicians understood and continue to read parts of SC and its predecessors as mandates for maintaining tradition in the form of a specific repertory. They believe that Gregorian chant's content models music's sacral character in a superlative way.[241] The difference between these two methods is significant. Liturgical theologians and liturgists mobilized congregations to proceed toward more direct contributions to ritual activity by singing whatever was available and judged appropriate, at least for the time being. Liturgical musicians who valued Gregorian chant, polyphony, and "art music" struggled to maintain a repertory and depended on traditional hierarchical structures to continue validating it. This partly accounts for serious misunderstandings and alienation between professional musicians and clergy/theologians. Polemics fail to bridge the gap separating the two methods. Conciliatory voices attempting to understand and bridge the divide can be heard.

---

[241] William Mahrt, "Toward a Revision of *Music in Catholic Worship*," http://www.musicasacra.com/mcw/ accessed 3 April 2008; Thomas Day, *Why Catholics Can't Sing: The Culture of Catholicism and the Triumph of Bad Taste* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1990).

> Perhaps most painful is the apparent inability of the church to attract front-rank art music composers to create for the reformed liturgy. While one can point to Masses by Gian-Carlo Menotti and Leonard Bernstein (the latter much more a theater-piece than something able to be employed in Catholic worship) and Requiems by Andrew Lloyd-Webber and John Rutter, the masters of the contemporary concert hall seem by and large uninterested in liturgical composition. Perhaps they feel that their idiom is too advanced for the church's worship; perhaps they are unwilling to expend much energy in creating music which may become obsolete within a few decades due to new official translations of the liturgical texts; perhaps they feel that they are incapable of making genuine contributions to a tradition that seems to have reached its high point in the masterpieces of the classical era. Nonetheless it remains a painful truth that the best art music composers are conspicuously absent in contemporary liturgical repertoire. For that reason, it is all the more important to engage the work of so-called "holy minimalists" such as John Tavener and Arvo Pärt so its possible influence on future liturgical composition [sic].[242]

Unfortunately, Joncas's obvious mischaracterization of Bernstein's *Mass* undermines his authority. The composition is not "much more a theatre-piece" than liturgical music. It **is** a theatre-piece and unabashedly so.

---

[242] Fr. Jan Michael Joncas, "Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs: Roman Catholic Liturgical Music in the United States Since Vatican II," University of St. Thomas, Archbishop Gerety Lecture at Seton Hall University, October 17, 1997 (http://theology.shu.edu/lectures/psalms.htm, accessed 4 February 2008).

CONCLUSION

This essay has explored causes of contemporary problems in understanding and applying a musical repertory specifically named in *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. Prior to Vatican II, Roman Catholic discourse on liturgical music largely was dominated by legislation such as that proposed by documents considered earlier. In a sense, these kinds of ecclesial texts continue to increase in number with contributions from the Vatican and conferences of bishops.[243] Musicians themselves meet and publish their own studies and reflections.[244] In contrast to theological methods which changed considerably by the end of the twentieth century, methodology employed by Roman Catholic scholarship in liturgical music continues to draw heavily from this body of literature as a point of departure, that is, from statements of principle.[245] A method that roots itself in the documents of Vatican II without also exploring theological developments is problematic for at least three reasons.

First, it bypasses the challenge of struggling with scripture to establish a source and cause for music and musical expression. Although the documents of the Second

---

[243] The Vatican has issued five instructions implementing SC (*Inter Oecumenici* (1964); *Tres Abbinc Annos* (1967); *Liturgicae Instauraciones*(1970); *Varietates Legitimae* (1994); and *Liturgiam Authenticam* (2001)) although only *Musicam Sacram* (1967) specifically deals with music. The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops has issued *Sing to the Lord: Music in Divine Worship* (2007) although *Built of Living Stones: Art, Architecture, and Worship* (2000) addresses issues of aesthetics.

[244] *A Ten Year Report* (1992) by The Milwaukee Symposia for Composers and *The Snowbird Statement on Catholic Liturgical Music* (1995).

[245] Robert F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music, 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1979); Miriam Winter, *Why Sing?: Toward a Theology of Catholic Church Music* (Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1984); Joncas, *From Sacred Song to Ritual Music*; Lucien Deiss, *Visions of Liturgy and Music for a New Century* (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1996).

Vatican Council and other magisterial documents quote scripture, texts are recited to demonstrate, among other things, that music, song, and poetry were associated with Israel's ritual activity and that the epistles witness to the same in apostolic times. In other words, music (more specifically, singing) is justified partly because it existed among the Hebrews in biblical times and among Christians in late antiquity. There is silence about whether and how scripture establishes the divine origin of music and singing.[246]

Second, because these ecclesial statements present and uphold universal principles, they do not critically examine particular experiences. If the praxis-theory-praxis model is to be taken seriously, theologians and scholars must begin by addressing the theological implications of musical activity in the Church's daily life. The relationship between theology and music neither begins with nor depends solely on documents composed by clerics and musicians.

Third, the same body of documents does not draw from a systematic approach to music's theological value. Again, their legislative purpose tends to define parameters for performance. As such, focus leans toward such things as liturgical regulations, personnel, and repertory. Disputes over textual meaning abound. An unfortunate consequence here has been the tendency to foster rhetoric of juridical compliance and informed musical taste with regard to liturgical music.

A theology of music must begin by considering the liturgical, cultural, and musical experience of the Church—contemporary assemblies that meet for Roman

---

[246] *Sing to the Lord*, by the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, exemplifies these characteristics. The opening section, entitled "Why We Sing," leads with quotes from both the Old and the New Testaments. Using scripture, articles 1 through 9 evoke a sense that singing is a function of praise and worship rather than present a systematic argument about the nature of music and its properties. The sub-section that follows (articles 10 through 14), entitled "Participation," culminates the introduction by identifying singing as a venue for congregational participation.

Catholic liturgical activity. Additionally, scripture and tradition must be considered to provide criteria with which to test the meaning of any musical repertory in a particular setting.

> [M]usic's meanings arise in performance. Hence the first and most obvious thing to say about the *intent* of liturgical music is that it intends to be performed. Its primary intention is neither to preserve and enshrine a tradition nor to comfort the nostalgic. Worship music's primary intent is not even to enrich or solemnize the church's public rites. As Lucien Deiss knew, liturgical melody first aims to inscribe God's Word on the human heart.[247]

"[T]o inscribe God's Word on the human heart" is another way of speaking about the True, the Good, and the Beautiful. When music's end and purpose ceases to be fulfilled within the Church's liturgy, the music takes its place among the many artifacts that once played an active role in the Church's living tradition. Notwithstanding are the music's value and place, if any, in the history of western music.

It is important to recognize that Roman Catholicism exists in a plurality of cultures. The Church's primary mission is not to export Western European culture but to preach the Gospel. Any claim that Gregorian chant and polyphony possesses a sacral character which other musical styles cannot approach must be argued and defended. Barring that, Western European "art" music, on the basis of tradition, may act as a model for liturgical music but only in the most general way. Thus, the question, "Does this music serve the Church well in this particular liturgical [and cultural] context?" bears much more fruit than "How do we know which music is sacred music?".[248]

Finally, a theology of music must also dialogue with current investigations into the nature and purpose of the Church's ministry. The theological virtues (Faith, Hope,

---

[247] Nathan D. Mitchell, "The Amen Corner: The Sung Prayer of the Assembly," *Worship* 82, no. 1 (January 2008): 54.

[248] Nicholas P. Wolterstorff, "Thinking about Church Music," and Jan Michael Joncas, "An Anniversary Song," both in *Music in Christian Worship*, ed. Charlotte Kroeker; and Deiss, *Visions of Liturgy and Music for a New Century*.

and Charity) cultivated by aesthetics incite conversion and link Christian life with the Kingdom of God.[249] If music truly functions as part of the Church's commission to preach the Gospel and to confront "the antitheses of the kingdom…[that is,] sin, illness, madness, injustice, and death," then the ways in which it does so must be articulated and manifested.[250]

Liturgical music, as an ecclesial activity, is "pregnant with the future," to use Gustavo Gutierrez's phrase.[251] It is the theologian's task to acknowledge the Kingdom's gestation in it and to identify how the Holy Trinity manifests itself in this praxis. By reflecting critically on music, theology cultivates hope in a transformative power that effects a new creation—a new heaven and a new earth (Revelation 21:1).

---

[249] Thomas Franklin O'Meara, O.P., *Theology of Ministry*, Completely Revised Edition (New York: Paulist Press, 1999): 142.
[250] Ibid., 147.
[251] Gutierrez, 11.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbott, Walter, S.J. *The Documents of Vatican II*. New York: The Guild Press, 1966.

Altenbaugh, Richard J. *Historical Dictionary of American Education*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999.

Assmann, Hugo. *Teología desde la praxis de liberación. Ensayo teológico desde América Latina dependiente*. Salamanca: Sígueme, 1973. (Engl. trans., *Theology for a Nomad Church*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1975.

Atkin, Nicholas and Tallet, Frank. *Priests, Prelates & People: A History of European Catholicism Since 1750*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Attwater, Donald, Gen. Editor. *A Catholic Dictionary (The Catholic Encyclopaedic Dictionary)*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943.

Baldovin, John F., S.J. "The Uses of Liturgical History." *Worship* 82, no. 1 (January 2008): 7–18.

Bergeron, Katherine. *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solemnes*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Boff, Clodovis. *Teología e práctica*. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1978. (Engl. trans., *Theology and Praxis: Epistemological Foundations* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1987.)

Boff, Leonardo. *Jesus Cristo Libertador*. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1971. (Engl. trans., *Jesus Christ Liberator* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1973.)

Boff, Leonardo and Boff, Clodovis. *Introducing Liberation Theology*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987.

Boudreau, Paul. "What is the Baltimore Catechism?" *U.S. Catholic* 68, no. 5 (May 2003): 26.

Bulman, Raymond F., and Frederick J. Parrella, eds. *From Trent to Vatican II: Historical and Theological Investigations*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Byron, Reginald, ed. *Music, Culture, Experience: Selected Papers of John Blacking*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Cooke, Bernard. *The Distancing of God: The Ambiguity of Symbol in History and Theology*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990.

Deiss, Lucien. *Visions of Liturgy and Music for a New Century*. Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1996.

Dolan, Jay P. *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815–1865*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983.

Duffy, Eamon. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

Emminghaus, Johannes H. *The Eucharist: Essence, Form, Celebration*. Trans. Linda M. Maloney. Collegeville, Minn: The Liturgical Press, 1997.

Ferrone, Rita. *Liturgy: Sacrosanctum Concilium*. Rediscoverying Vatican II, ed. Christopher M. Bellitto. New York: Paulist Press, 2007

Foley, Edward. *Foundations of Christian Music: The Music of Pre-Constantinian Christianity*. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1996.

Garcia-Rivera, Alejandro. *The Community of the Beautiful: A Theological Aesthetics*. Collegeville, Minn. The Liturgical Press, 1999.

Garratt, James. *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination: Interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Gelpi, Donald. *Closer Walk: Confessions of a U.S. Jesuit Yat*. Lanham, MD: Hamilton Books, 2006.

Gutierrez, Gustavo. *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*, 15th Anniversary Edition. With an introduction by the author. New York: Orbis Books, 1988.

Hayburn, Robert F. *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music, 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1979.

Irwin, Kevin W. "Which Liturgy is the Church's Liturgy?" *Origins:CNS Documentary Service* 38, no. 37 (February 26, 2009): 581–589.

Jeffery, Peter. "A Chant Historian Reads *Liturgiam Authenticam* 4: Human and Angelic Tongues." *Worship* 78 no 4 Jl 2004, 309-341.

Joncas, Jan Michael. *From Sacred Song to Ritual Music: Twentieth-Century Understandings of Roman Catholic Worship Music*. Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1997.

_____. "Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs: Roman Catholic Liturgical Music in the United States Since Vatican II," University of St. Thomas, Archbishop Gerety Lecture at Seton Hall University, October 17, 1997 (http://theology.shu.edu/lectures/psalms.htm, accessed February 4, 2008).

Komonchak, Joseph A., Collins, Mary; Lane, Dermot A. *The New Dictionary of Theology*. Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1987.

Kubicki, Judith Marie. *Liturgical Music as Ritual Symbol: A Case Study of Jacques Berthier's Taize Music*. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 1999.

Marini, Archbishop Piero. Edited by Mark R. Francis, C.S.V., John R. Page, and Keith F. Pecklers, S.J. *A Challenging Reform: Realizing the Vision of the Liturgical Renewal*. Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 2007.

Markey, John, O.P. *Creating Communion: The Theology of the Constitutions of the Church*. Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2003.

Maritmort, Aimé Georges, Irénée Henri Dalmais, O.P., et al. *The Church at Prayer: An Introduction to the Liturgy, Vol. I: Principles of the Liturgy*, New Edition. Translated by Matthew J. O'Connell. Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1987.

Martos, Joseph. *Doors to the Sacred: A Historical Introduction to Sacraments in the Catholic Church*. New York: Doubleday, 1982.

McCool, Gerald A., S.J. *Nineteenth Century Scholasticism: The Search for a Unitary Method*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1989.

Mitchell, Nathan D. "The Amen Corner: The Sung Prayer of the Assembly." *Worship* 82, no. 1 (January 2008): 53–65.

Nettl, Bruno. *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-One Issues and Concepts*, New Edition. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005.

O'Collings, Gerald, S.J. and Farrugia, Edward G., S.J. *A Concise Dictionary of Theology*. New York: Paulist Press, 1991.

O'Meara, Thomas Franklin, O.P. "The Aesthetic Dimension in Theology." In *Art, Creativity, and the Sacred: An Anthology in Religion and Art*, ed. Diane Apostolos-Capadona, pp. 205–18. New York: Crossroads, 1984.

_____. *Church and Culture: German Catholic Theology, 1860–1914*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991.

_____. "Leaving the Baroque: The Fallacy of Restoration in the Postconciliar Period." *America* 174 Issue 3 (2/3/96): 10–28, http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/ehost/detail?vid=4&hid=3&sid=d980825d-7641-4231-a87e-c8720b3e8990%40SRCSM2 (accessed February 12, 2008).

_____. "Modern Art and the Sacred." *Spirituality Today* 38 n. 1 (Spring 1986): 31–40.

_____. *Romantic Idealism and Roman Catholicism: Schelling and the Theologians*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1982.

_____. *Seeing Theological Forms*, Monograph Number Six. Belmont, CA: Archives of Modern Christian Art, 1997.

_____. *Theology of Ministry*, Completely Revised Edition. New York: Paulist Press, 1999.

Overath, Johannes, ed. *Sacred Music and Liturgy Reform After Vatican II: Proceedings of the Fifth International Church Music Congress Held in Chicago-Milwaukee, August 21–28, 1966*. Rome: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1969.

Pecklers, Keith, S.J. *The Unread Vision: The Liturgical Movement in the United States of America, 1926–1955*. Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1988.

Prendergast, Michael, and Ridge, M.D., editors. *Voices from the Council*. Portland, OR: Pastoral Press, 2004.

Rahner, Karl and Vorgrimler, Herbert. Edited by Cornelius Ernst, O.P. Trans. Richard Strachan. *Concise Theological Dictionary*. London: Burns & Oats, 1965.

Ruff, Anthony, O.S.B. *Sacred Music and Liturgical Reform: Treasures and Transformations*. Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 2007.

Sobrino, Jon. *Cristología desde América Latina*. Mexico City, 1976. (Engl. trans., *Christology at the Crossroads* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1978.)

Taft, Robert F., S.J. *Through Their Own Eyes: Liturgy As The Byzantines Saw It*. Berkeley, CA: InterOrthodox Press, 2006.

Tillard, J-M. R., O.P. *Church of Churches: The Ecclesiology of Communion*. Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1992.

Tracy, David. *The Analogical Imagination: Christian Theology and the Culture of Pluralism*. New York: Crossroads, 1981.

The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. *Built of Living Stones: Art, Architecture, and Worship* (2000). http://www.usccb.org/liturgy/livingstonesind.shtml (accessed March 3, 2008).

_____. *Sing to the Lord: Music in Divine Worship* (2007). http://www.usccb.org/liturgy/SingToTheLord.pdf (accessed March 3, 2008).

Von Arx, Jeffrey Paul, S.J., editor. *Varieties of Ultramontanism*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1998.

Viladesau, Richard. *Theological Aesthetics: God in Imagination, Beauty, and Art*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

_____. *Theology and the Arts: Encountering God through Music, Art and Rhetoric*. New York: Paulist Press, 2000.

Winter, Miriam. *Why Sing?: Toward a Theology of Catholic Church Music*. Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1984.

Zizioulas, John. *Being as Communion*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985.

Vita

Ramón Jacinto Enríquez González was born on August 21, 1961, in San Antonio, Texas, to Esequiel Rodríguez González and Herlinda Alcorta Enríquez. After completing his work at Sidney Lanier High School in San Antonio, Texas, in 1979, he studied at the University of Texas at San Antonio where he received a Bachelor of Music in 1983. He entered the Order of Preachers (Dominicans) in the fall of 1983 and went on to earn a Master of Divinity from the Dominican School of Philosophy and Theology at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, California. In 1995 he was granted the Master of Theology by St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary of Yonkers, New York. Between 1995 and 2001, he lived as a monk at New Skete Monastery in Cambridge, New York, before returning to the Order of Preachers and being ordained a priest of the Roman Catholic Church. He performs regularly on the baroque flute.

Permanent address: St. Joseph Roman Catholic Church
P.O. Box 368; 255 North 8th Street
Ponchatoula, Louisiana 70454

This report was typed by the author.